

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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This dissertation examines two university settings -- the University of Oregon and Oregon State University--and compares them in terms of a socio-cultural model. The model assumes Native American students are in an acculturation situation wherein they attempt to maintain an Indian group while obtaining higher education. Their incorporation in and articulation to a higher education unit takes place within certain incorporative modes (differential, equivalent, and universalistic) that results in corresponding interethnic structures of accomodation. Within these structural types for handling ethnic differences on campus, Native American programs carry on acculturational functions

(oriented toward achievement in the non-Indian culture) and enculturational functions (oriented toward achievement in the Indian cultural group on campus). As Indians pursue their group interests through the structure of ethnic accommodation and their own program, they establish consensus, complementary, and conflictive relationships with the university and other ethnic groups. Given the interplay between Native American program functions, Indians as individuals and as a group are in a bicultural and culturally plural situation.

Universities design interethnic structures of accommodation, or culturally plural systems, to deal with ethnic differences on campus. At the University of Oregon, Indians were incorporated and articulated to the University through an equivalent (ethnic group-based) mode and resultant structure. In this system, the Native American Program was the basic adaptive unit for Indian students. It possessed considerable self-determination, provided supportive services, and allowed for acculturation without assimilation. At Oregon State University, a universalistic (emphasizing individual adaptation) mode of incorporation and resultant structure allowed for limited ethnic group expression in programming. Native American program design and development saw limited Indian self-determination, influence over supportive services, and ability to control the acculturation process.

In each case the history and development of the program is traced. Two key variables, the state of initial ethnic organization on campus and the attitudes and policies of the universities, are identified as being critical to the type of interethnic structure of accommodation that emerged and resultant Native American program design and development.

In order to promote greater cultural purposes (manifest structuring for Indian and non-Indian cultures) in higher education, implications and recommendations from the two case studies are drawn. The recommended solution strategy for maximizing the Indian acculturation situation is made in terms of a Native American Center composed of structural components in Indian studies, recruitment and supportive services, and community/cultural development which is oriented towards on and off-campus Indian education. It is suggested that university accommodations to Indian self-determination, such as a Native American Center, would maximize the bicultural and culturally plural conditions of Indians on and off-campus.

Native American Programs as Socio-  
Cultural Adaptive Mechanisms to the  
College Environment: A Case Comparison  
of The University of Oregon and  
Oregon State University

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Marlin Richard McComb

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SECTION I

ORIENTATION TO THE RESEARCH

NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAMS AS SOCIO-  
CULTURAL ADAPTIVE MECHANISMS TO THE  
COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT: A CASE COMPARISON  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON AND  
OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Definition of Problem

The general problem addressed in this dissertation is how ethnic diversity on higher education campuses is related to the wider socio-cultural system of the university, and how such ethnic diversity is maintained within this environment. At present, supportive services programs for minority students and those who are classified as economically disadvantaged are viewed by educators as temporary mechanisms for helping students who lack the academic background or economic means by which they can enter and succeed in the college environment.

Commonly overlooked in this perspective is the fact that minority students on campus continue to pose the same type of challenges to intercultural relations that obtain in other sectors of American culture. University environments are as involved with the problems of intergroup relations, including such attributes as consensus and conflict, as are other cultural settings.

In fact, the university is a major cultural system of the dominant society. As in other cultural settings, there remains the fundamental problem of organizational responses to ethnic and racial differences, both by the students and the institution. As in the larger society, there are questions of how minorities will be articulated to the university and incorporated into it. There are questions of the degree to which ethnic identity and group formation will become a legitimated base for organizational activities and allow for achievement within the dominant culture's institutions. Further, there arises the problem of recognizing the historical and cultural uniqueness of different ethnic groups on campus.

Intercultural relations have generally been encompassed within anthropology by the term acculturation: the situation and processes involved when two or more cultural systems are in continuous, first-hand contact, Spicer (1972: 52) has stated that acculturation studies involve "processes of social and cultural integration which the coming together of members of different societies sets in motion." Beals and Hoijer (1971: 602) have noted that acculturation studies by anthropologists have too often

been concerned with changes in cultural content as opposed to organizational changes; and at the same time they state that the fundamental acculturation problem involves "the modification in the cultural systems resulting from contact." While decrying the abuse of the word acculturation by numerous students, they state that the concept is correctly used "where there is some effort to reconstitute groups forming cultural enclaves..." It is, then, a "conjunction of differences" (Barnett 1953: 46-56) with its organizational expressions of ethnic group articulation and maintenance, to include change, that constitutes the focal problem for this work.

Anthropologists have written many case studies of the general phenomena encompassed by acculturation. Few, if any, examinations of acculturation have been carried out in terms of university settings where bearers of different ethnic cultures meet. There is a definite need to view the presence of culturally different students in settings of higher education as one more example of the general phenomena of acculturation. This is particularly true when it concerns ethnic students who are trying to maintain some type of group existence within the university setting, all the while seeking to articulate their group to the larger society as represented by the university system.

Anthropology also has traditionally studied the

acculturation situation of the American Indian. This dissertation is no exception. In each of two case studies, at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University, it deals with the general problem of organizational articulation of Native American programs to the university system (i.e., their part in a structure of interethnic accomodation on campus) and their functions in maintaining an Indian status, identity, and values within a particular institutional context of the dominant society.

A number of studies have been undertaken relative to the academic success and/or failure of Indian students in higher education.<sup>1</sup> Insufficient research attention and conceptualization, however, has been given to the articulatory and group maintenance functions of programs designed to help Indian students in their adaptation to the college environment. More should be known about how these programs are structured, what their goals are, and what resources are available for carrying them out. Similarly, the external relationships with other systems, in particular the types of interethnic structures of accomodation resident on campus and of which Native Americans are a part, are inadequately understood. The views of Native American students relative to the internal and external dynamics of the programs designed to help them in the

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II

adaptation process needs to be explored. Such programs require more explicit conceptualization in socio-cultural terms. These programs also raise questions about educational philosophy and policy relative to Indian education in a plural society.

Through an examination of Native American programs in higher education, it is possible to add to our general understanding of problems in organizing ethnic differences and maintaining ethnic group existence and identity on campus. It also can illuminate our understanding of the specific historical and cultural position of Native Americans in the acculturation-assimilation processes relative to the larger society and specific settings thereof.

It is clear that there is a need for more general knowledge about the internal and external features of different cultural systems on college campuses as a part of acculturation processes and situations. It is equally clear that it is necessary to consider the special organizational problems and relations of particular groups, such as Native Americans, as a part of the general acculturation situation. To these ends, then, I have chosen to examine Native American program articulation and group maintenance at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University. In turn I offer an explanation of my orientation to the research, including a novel theory; a

review of the literature; two case studies; and a set of concluding remarks.

## Research Procedures

### Research Methods

The basic research methods involved in this dissertation are diachronic and comparative.

The diachronic approach to cultural phenomena involves a description of a cultural system as it is modified and changed over time rather than merely examining the system at a given point in time. As such, the diachronic approach puts an emphasis upon historical depth as well as the current state of a cultural system. As Gulliver (1965: 80) has succinctly put it regarding the diachronic approach:

By investigating the pattern of development in a system over time and relating the state of affairs to preceding states, it largely deals with the question: 'why is it like it is?' The 'why' usually refers to an explanation of the present in terms of the past, but of course a past state can similarly be investigated (if evidence is available) in terms of its own antecedents.

The comparative approach emphasizes similarities between the cultural systems in terms of parallels of sequence or function over time. It allows for the development of generalizations and theory construction. Here two university settings are examined in terms of the

socio-cultural systems established relative to ethnic groups on campus. On the one hand, these cultural systems are examined in terms of their origins, development, and change through time in organizational terms. On the other hand, there is the attempt to compare these cultural systems in order to note not only differences but in particular similarities relative to their evolution as socio-cultural systems. From these comparisons, it will be possible to derive conclusions regarding the extent to which these programs correspond to the previously developed model and to develop implications for Native American programs in settings of higher education.

The primary focus of the design is on the organizational forms that develop in each setting to articulate Native Americans to the larger university system and allow for the maintenance of an Indian group base and the modifications or changes over time. As such, then, this involves a combination of an historical and functional approach relative to the programs as sociocultural systems. It is based upon a description of the systems at the time of study.

The basic research objective is to examine the functions of Native American programs at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University, and to examine the changing nature of these functions. Functions are

examined externally, that is, to the university system; and they are examined internally, that is, within the programs. Thus, one set of functions, external, relates to the articulation of Native Americans as a group to the university; and the second set of functions, internal, relates to the maintenance of Native American identity, values, and interaction in a setting of the dominant culture.

The research design provides for a comparison of Native American program functions in each of the two university settings. These comparisons allow statements to be made about the functions of Native American programs in the general process of educating Indian youth in settings of higher education. This allows for the identification and examination of external institutional arrangements and attitudes that limit or constrain the operations of the programs in settings of higher education. It also permits an examination of internal organizational and goal features of the programs which limit or constrain Native American actions.

#### Field and Analytical Procedures

Fieldwork on Native Americans in higher education began with my participation in an Indian Education Seminar sponsored by the Department of Anthropology at Oregon State University during the spring term of the 1971-1972 academic year. Participation in the seminar provided an

opportunity to meet and personally know a number of Native American students and concerned faculty and administrators at Oregon State. There was also an opportunity to meet Native Americans from the University of Oregon and to learn of their general situation. The main fieldwork, however, was conducted during the subsequent fall (primarily at the University of Oregon) and winter-spring (Oregon State University) terms.

Data acquired on Native Americans in higher education at these two institutions were obtained through an examination of written materials, interviews with key informants who occupied important roles within the programs or relative to them, limited participant-observation of Native American affairs at both universities, and the administration of an intensive but open-ended interview schedule.

Data acquisition techniques sought, with the following results, general information on Native American higher education and particularly with regard to the University of Oregon and Oregon State University.

Written Materials. There was a review of the literature dealing with Indian education generally, Indian higher education in particular, and literature pertaining to historical and contemporary trends on Indian self-determination. Letters were sent to some universities

having Indian programs in the Pacific Northwest, to community colleges in Oregon having such programs, and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Higher Education in order to obtain information or documents on Indian higher education. Little response was received to the request for information, though the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided valuable information on financial assistance and Indian-related programs as of 1970. The Oregon Educational Coordinating Council was contacted relative to data on enrollment figures of Native Americans in the State System of Higher Education and on the post-high school career choices of students by ethnic group. Two important and informative studies from the Oregon State System of Higher Education on disadvantaged student programs published in 1969 and 1972 also provided pertinent data on programs at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University.

Written materials acquired at the University of Oregon were considerable and played an important role in the description and analysis of events there. Documents at the University of Oregon were gathered which included the original 1970 proposal to the federal government on disadvantaged student programs; progress reports and related documents from the Office of Supportive Services; progress reports, policy and procedures statements, and position papers from the Native American Program;

proposed and/or adopted reorganization plans relative to disadvantaged student programs at Oregon during the 1972-73 academic year; and, where possible, the original position papers of other parties to the crisis involving disadvantaged student programs at Oregon in the fall of 1972. A subscription to the Oregon Daily Emerald, the campus newspaper at the University of Oregon, was taken out for the year to obtain information on events relating to Native Americans and/or disadvantaged student programs. The newspaper often contained the equivalency of key informant interviews, position papers, and general information that provided continuity of events when not in the research setting. Past issues of the newspaper were consulted in order to gain historical data.

Written materials at Oregon State University were limited. It was found, however, that the intensive interview format administered at Oregon State to staff members of the Educational Opportunities Program elicited similar types of data that appeared in documents collected elsewhere and which served as a general base of information for reports to other agencies.

In general, written materials from the two university settings provided data on the origins of the programs, enrollment figures, administrative and service functions of the programs, the general organization of structures

of interethnic accomodation on campus, conflicts and problems regarding such structures, and information on the resources, goals, and internal dynamics of the programs.

The review of literature on ethnic relations, education and the culturally different, disadvantaged student programs, and Native American history and education provided an historical and theoretical background that put into perspective the general problem of ethnic group articulation and group maintenance in settings of higher education, particularly as these related to Native Americans.

Key Informant Interviews. Interviews were conducted with persons whose roles related directly to the programs and/or those who had a special interest in Native American and minority student affairs on campus.

At the University of Oregon, interviews were conducted with nine administrators related to disadvantaged student programs, eight faculty members who were concerned with Native Americans or other minority students on campus, and ten persons who were either project directors within the Office of Supportive Services (past and present ones), student leaders, or persons closely related to the Native American Program. An extended telephonic interview was held with an H.E.W. official who was related to problems concerning disadvantaged student programs at the University of Oregon.

Several of these key informants were revisited on numerous occasions in order to clarify data or to obtain new information. Data from these interviews gave individual and personalized viewpoints on the origins of the programs, how they developed, service and administrative functions of the programs, problems concerning the programs, perceptions of leadership, and a general assessment of the programs. While informant comments were centered on the Native American Program and its relationship to the University of Oregon, these were of necessity tied in with the broader picture of ethnic group relations given the organizational problems at the University during the fall of 1972 and the remainder of the academic year. Within the aforementioned general categories, informants were given considerable latitude in discoursing about the topic.

At Oregon State University, there was greater specific detail within each general category, following an interview format from Astin, et.al., (1972: 287-292 and 297-300) when it came to administrators, faculty, and staff within the program. Four staff members of Oregon State's Educational Opportunity Program were questioned about the origins, functions, and general performance of the Educational Opportunities Program as well as the involvement of Native Americans in it. Their views on the

state of Native American program development and its future prospects relative to the Educational Opportunities Program's structure were obtained. Nine faculty members were interviewed, including three present and one past member of the Special Services Committee which monitors disadvantaged student programs at Oregon State. Four administrators whose roles directly affected the state and development of disadvantaged student programs on campus were interviewed. A key informant interview was also conducted with a Native American who represented an off-campus voluntary association of American Indians and who articulated viewpoints relative to the development of Native American affairs on the Oregon State campus.

In all, seventy key informant interviews were pursued relative to the University of Oregon and Oregon State University.

Limited Participant-Observation. Participation in the Indian Education Seminar at Oregon State University was important in building rapport with Native American students. The researcher also participated in some meetings and did writing relative to the seminar's efforts to promote Native American program development at Oregon State. Participant-observation at Oregon State also involved the attendance of numerous Native American Student Union meetings until their general lapse in the winter

term of 1973, dropping in at the Native American counselor's allocated office space within the Educational Opportunities Program, and talking with key Native American students in campus and off-campus settings.

Participation was limited and observation difficult at the University of Oregon, partly due to the crisis atmosphere and conditions under which the Native American Program was operating during the fall of 1972. Frequent visits to the Native American Program office and Native American Student Union office were made during the fall term. Initially, the researcher was accorded the status of a guest, being offered coffee, and interacting on a rather formal basis. However, this status became less formal as the fall term's research effort proceeded. There were other limits which were tacitly conveyed on the spacing of visits, time spent in the office, and types and degrees of information to be asked about and obtained. At the time, Native Americans at the University of Oregon had as one of their central complaints about the University and other agencies what was viewed as a constant demand for information and evaluation. These demands for information were seen as hindering the operations of the program and its ability to serve students. The researcher tried to respect these feelings and attitudes, consider the crisis conditions under which the program was operating, and

accordingly "feel" or sense the acceptable limits of Native American participation in the research effort. Even given these conditions and attitudes, the researcher felt sufficient rapport was established and adequate data gathered through the cooperation of Native American Program students and staff. Such cooperation extended to formal interviews with staff, the acquisition of documents, and informal discussions with students. Informal discussions with program staff occurred in the Native American office and in some cases other settings on and off the University campus.

Observations at the Native American Program office and Native American Student Union office were invaluable in getting the "feeling tone" of the physical surroundings, the flow and movement of interaction within the program, and expressed statements of attitudes and values.

Observations of some meetings regarding the overall crisis involving disadvantaged student programs at the University of Oregon were attended. Others, which were closed to outside observers, were monitored where possible by interviewing persons who had been in attendance.

Thus, full participation and observation in the traditional ethnographic sense of anthropology, where the researcher "lives in" with the research population for an extended period of time (cf. Powdermaker 1966), was

not achieved in these two case studies. This was due to part-time teaching responsibilities, lack of research funds other than the personal resources of the researcher, and factors of time and distance (e.g., University of Oregon), as well as those already alluded to previously. Nonetheless, two to three trips per week to the University of Oregon were made during the fall term of 1972, several during the spring term of 1973, and there was consistent monitoring of field events at Oregon State through the 1972-1973 academic year. In general, despite these limitations, the researcher found that the participation and observation aspects of the field work contributed an important dimension which complemented other techniques given their inherent limitations.

Intensive Interview Schedule. An interview schedule was drawn up for faculty, administrators, and Educational Opportunities Program staff at Oregon State University.

An intensive interview schedule for Native American students at Oregon State was also drawn up from Astin's work (1972:293-296). This format was administered to eleven of twelve Native American students attending

Oregon State at the time. Interviews took place on campus and in the homes of informants. Native American students were questioned in detail about their decision to enter college, their plans for the future, their feelings about Oregon State and the Corvallis community, about the Educational Opportunities Program and the Native Americans' role in it, what their current activities were, and if they had any recommendations they would make relative to the furthering of Native American program development within the Educational Opportunities Program structure.

It was not possible to administer this open-ended interview format to Indian students at the University of Oregon. Three copies of the schedule were presented to the Native American Program staff. No commitment was received regarding its administration when asked at the time of its initial presentation. Two subsequent follow-up inquiries over the next six weeks revealed that the Native American Program leadership was again involved in important problems and conflicts regarding its relationship to the University of Oregon; and the general feeling conveyed was that administration of the interview schedule to students would take time away from the program's activities and infringe upon the students' time and educational efforts.

Thus, after these inquiries, which included the researcher's statements about conducting the interviews at times and places convenient to the students, it was decided to drop the interview schedule at the University of Oregon.

However, it was possible during the fall of 1972 to talk with Native American students at the University of Oregon on an informal basis at the Native American Program, Native American Student Union office, and in other settings on campus. Around ten to eleven students were contacted. These informal discussions did not approach the depth of information obtained from Native American students at Oregon State. They did provide attitudes and feelings regarding the crisis the program was in, the functions of the program, and general problems dealing with financial aids, housing, courses, teachers, and the like. Thus, Native American Program access and cooperation during the fall of 1972 did allow for the gathering of student viewpoints concerning the program. Data from key informant interviews and written materials provided additional information on students in the program.

The analysis of the overall data collected was directed toward the writing of two case studies that illustrated the general problem of ethnic group articulation and maintenance in settings of higher education by Native Americans. Data were ordered in terms of history,

ethnic relations, program organization, and ethnic group maintenance.

CHAPTER II  
THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL CONTEXT

Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education

One of the foremost issues in higher education today is the question of equality of educational opportunity (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education 1968; 1970), as it is for the schools as a whole (Coleman, et al. 1966; Bane and Jencks 1972). Equality of opportunity in higher education applies to a wide range of social categories (Cross 1971), but the driving force behind the current concern derives from the presence and increasing demands of racial and ethnic minorities (Nichols and Mills 1970; Altman and Snyder 1971).

Various ethnic and racial groups are coming to a new awareness and pride in their cultural past and their own self-definition of race. Racial and cultural problems loom ever-larger at all levels of educational functioning. This is particularly true at the university or college level. The educational system is faced with fundamental questions of equality of educational opportunity and meritocracy (Karabel 1972) in the following areas: (1) the problem of access by minorities to higher learning (Crossland 1971), such access being defined by some as merely providing more

places for all students, while for others it involves questions of access "for whom?" and "to what?" type of higher education institution (Corcoran 1972:32); (2) the need for more financial assistance by minority students to overcome the facts of social class and poverty (Sewell 1971); (3) the provision of supportive services to assist in overcoming the problems of earlier schooling; (4) the demand for curriculum changes and programs such as Black Studies, Indian Studies, Chicano Studies, even Japanese and Chinese American Studies; and (5) in some cases, the demand for separate facilities on the campus (Etzioni 1970). Integration defined as mere access is being questioned. Now minorities are demanding results which move in the direction of greater group success as a whole in higher education, all of which is a part of the equality revolution Herbert Gans (1971:617) sees sweeping and developing throughout the nation.

To provide a general and specific perspective on Native Americans in higher education, this chapter reviews extant literature on current enrollment trends, academic problems, and programs for Native Americans within the nation. Second, the general historical and cultural position of the American Indian is reviewed in terms of a self-determination model, a general set of ideas which affect

Native American relationships with the dominant society's institutions, including higher educational ones. Third, there is a brief review of the Oregon higher education scene relative to Native Americans, noting in particular the two programs examined in this dissertation.

### The American Indian in Higher Education

As the National Study of American Indian Education (1970:30) first reported, the number of Indian students in the nation's colleges increased dramatically in the decade of the sixties. A more recent report on the findings of the National Study of American Indian Education has been made by Fuchs and Havighurst (1972:260) wherein they present the following general picture for Indian students in college and post-secondary institutions:

In 1957, some crude figures support an estimate that there were about two thousand Indian students in colleges and other post-secondary school institutions. For 1970, somewhat better data indicates that this number had increased to about ten thousand.

It is estimated that about three thousand high school graduates entered college or some other post-high school education institution in 1970 and that about one fourth of this number will graduate from a four-year course. This indicates that approximately 18 per cent of an age cohort are entering college, compared with about 40 per cent of the age group of all American youth; and that 4 per cent are graduating from a four-year college course, compared with about 22 per cent of the total American age cohort.

Havighurst and Fuchs (Ibid.: 260-261) go on to point out that about 55 per cent of the Indian and Eskimo youth are graduating from high school, and of this number that go on to post-secondary training around 42 per cent enter academic courses in four year institutions while 58 per cent go on to technical-vocational schools with time spans from one to three years.

Thus the number of Indian students in higher education on a national basis is increasing at a faster rate than in the past. This is in no small measure accounted for by the fact that tribal councils are dedicating larger amounts of funds from their budgets. Indian tribes are increasingly emphasizing the need for tribal development (Sorkin 1971) and as a consequence the need for trained leadership. But another major source of educational incentives for Indian youth comes from the Bureau of Indian Affairs through its Branch of Higher Education. The Bureau provides scholarship grants on the basis of a person having "one-fourth or more degree American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood, as recognized by a tribal group served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs" (Bureau of Indian Affairs n.d.: 2). A few loans are available but the overwhelming class of educational assistance is the scholarship grant which is given primarily "on the unmet financial need" of the student after he has sought an institutional evaluation and degree

of funds available from that source (Ibid.: 3).

The number of students who are receiving scholarship grant assistance has increased through the years. As Aurbach and Fuchs (1970:86) state:

In 1957, the program awarded nearly \$70,000 to 290 grantees. . . Ten years later close to \$2,000,000 was awarded to 2,348 students, and in 1967, 147 were graduated, 143 from 4-year colleges. In 1969, over 3,400 grants were awarded totaling over \$2,500,000. . .

The average grant in 1969 was 868 dollars (Ibid.:87).

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Higher Education also publishes each year a booklet entitled Scholarships for American Indians (1972). This is a complete listing of financial aids available to Indian students. The areas covered include special Bureau of Indian Affairs' aids, major federal programs such as Educational Opportunity Grants, National Defense Student loans, Work-Study Programs, Guaranteed Student Loans, veterans benefits, special Indian opportunity programs especially designed for Indians in law, health, and vocational-technical education through a consortium of Indian schools, tribal grants and loans, different state programs of financial aids for Indians, and a full range of federal and state aid programs in different professional fields that any student might enter but which constitute a source of funds for Indian students as well.

Figures on the increasing number of Indian students

going to college and correlative increases in funds available to support them are encouraging. Nonetheless, these figures should be viewed within the framework of equally disturbing ones which indicate that Indian students do not as a group achieve as well as non-Indians in college and have extremely high dropout rates.

Brewton Berry (1968) reviewed a great deal of the literature that involves the question of retention and achievement among Indian college students. Berry points to a study by Zintz (1963) which showed that of one-hundred Indian students enrolled in the University of New Mexico over a four year period, seventy per cent dropped out with poor grades, twenty per cent remained, and only ten per cent went on to get their degrees. In another study, Ludeman (1960) examined the records of Indian students from 1925 to 1958 in a South Dakota college. Of the 112 cases, nearly half attended for less than the full year and 36 attended only one quarter or less. In one of the most extensive studies of the Indian college student in the sixties, McGrath (1962) found that of 416 Indian students in four southwestern states, 237 dropped out over a four year period he examined.

Berry (1968:106) concludes that while studies on the social and personal adjustment of Indian college students are inconclusive, the studies on the academic problems of

Indian students are more substantive and confirm that "They receive low grades, they drop out in large numbers, and they fail to graduate."

Berry (Ibid.: 106-116) cites a number of studies and factors that have been identified as being related to academic problems for Indian college students. One so identified, insufficient financial resources, is held to be a "subsidiary" rather than a major factor by Berry (Ibid.: 107) and seems to be dependent upon whose opinion is solicited. Another factor, value conflicts, appears to be of major importance. Havighurst (1957) reports that Indian cultures such as the Pueblo emphasize cooperation rather than competition. Leighton (1964) discusses such Navaho values as present time orientation, resistance to coercive authority and bureaucracy, and attitudes about the inability to change human nature as being related to academic problems for Navaho college students. Ludeman (1960) reports that Indian students do not exhibit behaviors in terms of time, appointment schedules, and industry which college settings emphasize. Poor academic preparation and language problems have also been cited as factors in Indian failure in college (Artichoker and Palmer 1959; and Salisbury 1965; 1967). A fifth factor, the college environment, in terms of counseling, dorms, tutoring services, orientation programs, and the like, are cited as being

related to college success or failure for Indian students. Here, too, there are contradictory results. Leighton (1964) said Navaho students indicated that greater help from counselors would have helped to avoid dropping out, while McGrath (1962) found no relationship between quantity of conferences with advisors and grades for the Indian students he studied. McGrath found no relationship with grades and orientation programs, a fact supported by Quimby (1963) who found successful Indian students attending fewer orientation programs than the unsuccessful. Quimby, McGrath, and Leighton further confirm that those Indian students who had more close friends who were fellow Indians tended to be less successful. McGrath and Leighton further point to the fact that the more involved an Indian student is in the activities of the college the greater the likelihood of academic success. On these latter two points, Berry (1968: 113) comments as follows: "It is apparent that the Indian who is more assimilated and better integrated into the dominant society and culture functions more successfully in that society." Finally, an attempt has been made to correlate family and community factors with academic success. The family's educational background and encouragement by tribal and family units are involved here. Berry (Ibid.: 113-115) concludes that the question is still unproven given the limited and inconclusive studies on

these factors and academic success. Indeed, Berry's general conclusion is that: "In summary, it can be said that Indian college students, on the whole, do not do well in college. There are many reasons for this failure. Some of these, such as limited or faulty educational background have been rather thoroughly explored. Others, such as cultural, situational, and personality factors call for further study" (Ibid.: 116).

At higher levels of education, various type programs have been established to help Indian students enter and succeed in the college environment. As W. Roger Bufflohead (1970:161) points out, the first Native American Studies Program was proposed by Oklahoma Indians in 1914. They petitioned the Congress through their senator to establish such a department at the University of Oklahoma. But as Bufflohead says: "Nothing came of that resolution..." More recently, programs for Indian students in higher education have in the main been created in the wake of demands on the part of Black students for greater access to college, financial support, curriculum changes, and supportive services. Thus, out of the drive for Black studies and ethnic studies in the late sixties came a more general concern for the problems of Indian students. Where Indian students did not initiate such demands, administrative concerns often did.

In its "Colleges and Universities with Indian Related Programs," the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Higher Education (1970) lists some forty-eight varigated programs for Indian students in higher education. Beatrice Medicine (1971) states university programs for American Indians reflect the great diversity which marks American Indian cultures and says that any number have been established. Nonetheless, she identifies three major types as emerging. One is the Native American Studies department within a Third World component. Many of these programs were started in urban areas and emphasized the need for articulating the program with the Indian community, difficult as the Indian community might be to define. These programs are viewed as being extremely activist and militant. Another program type is the American Indian Studies one wherein the emphasis is upon academic content, departmental structuring and status, and service to both Indian and non-Indian students. Finally, Medicine identifies what she calls the American Indian Culture Program which is designed to change the university's environment and policies toward Indian students and to in the main provide remedial or supportive services for Indian students in their adaptation to the college environment. In brief, Medicine's three types run from an activist-militant type where academics may become secondary to community action, to a supportive

services type where curriculum matters are not primary, to a middle type where the attempt is to legitimize Indian Studies in academic terms and structure with other disciplines.

But there are Indian voices which warn that such programs, whatever their type, run the danger of placing Indian students in the same category as other minorities. As Charlie Cambridge (1971:81) has said:

So what we want in Indian studies is something different than what Chicanos want, what Blacks want, and probably what Asian-Americans want. And so I'm saying that maybe I really shouldn't be here, because I see a very dangerous thing coming out of this conference, something like a stereotyped image of what a minority program should be.

Indeed, while strongly supportive of programs for Native Americans, Jack Forbes (1970; 1971) warns against their becoming a part of established departments and that they be run by Native American faculty, students, and community members. Thus Forbes supports the efforts of Indians to establish their own educational facilities. Such feelings have resulted in the founding of Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University near Davis, California. Here the emphasis is upon service to community and practicality of the coursework. It represents a feeling that programs for Indians in higher educational circles do not meet the needs of Indian students (Roberts 1971). Similarly, the movement of the Navaho to establish their own community college

(Fuchs, 1972; Fuchs and Havighurst 1972:264-272) and public school system at Rough Rock, Arizona (Fuchs 1970:74) speaks to the concern of the Indian community about the quality and direction of education in the dominant culture's academic settings.

A range of problems have been identified for the variety of programs for Indian students. Forbes (1971:170-171) raises such general problems as Indian control and say with regard to the programs, financing them, the shortage of trained Indian faculty and the unwillingness of higher educational institutions to utilize and hire Indians with expertise but who lack the proper academic credentials by conventional standards of the academy, the need for more flexible financial aid for Indians so that they can attend the institution of their choice, and the quantity and quality of curriculum and teaching materials.

W. Roger Bufflohead (1970:163-167) describes some of these problems when he was director of the Indian Studies Program at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Once the coalition for setting up various ethnic studies programs had wrested from the administration a recognition of and support for such programs, the coalition tended to dissolve into a competition for space and money between the programs. The university's structure and values worked to hinder the program. Bufflohead did not have his doctorate;

so he was named acting director. This, he states, limited his authority and effectiveness. Further, he was not given a faculty appointment in any campus department. Dealing with faculty and university committees restricted the freedom of action of the program.

Bufflohead also describes the problems of relating the program to the various Indian communities of Los Angeles, the different factions which developed over the question of whether the curriculum was to be remedial or whether it was to be focused toward an activist, Red Power, form of Indian nationalism. Relationships with other ethnic groups, working within the structure and values of the university, relating to various Indian communities, and questions of curriculum philosophy and orientation, Bufflohead feels, led to the undermining of the program at UCLA. He feels that other programs will face the same types of conflict. And he believes that a departmental structure, faculty, and the like, as at the University of Minnesota, (See Miller 1971:313-340 for the development of the Minnesota program) will do much to ensure the success of the Indian Studies program.

Beatrice Medicine (1971:16-17) also cites a number of these problems. There exist the problems of the relationship between variable Indian communities in the urban setting and the programs; the "step-child" position of

Indian studies in Third World components; the "polyglot" of tribal persons found within the programs; students who are products of the urbanization process who do not know their tribal background and consequently face identity problems; the development of varying identity symbols and a "contrived culture;" activism and militancy against academic and non-academic establishments; the problems of creating a curriculum relevant to the diversity of groups and providing a common framework for self awareness among all Indian people; and the proliferation of Indian programs by all manner of small colleges in order to "fill administrative coffers." The general impression conveyed is that too many programs have recruited and selected students without planning for their diversity of backgrounds and providing for them a set of relevant educational experiences. The result has been psychological, cultural, and academic problems for the students. Universities may obtain token programs they can point to or substantial grants of money. But the haste in the process has all too often been at the expense of the Indian students.

Additional problems of student recruitment and selection, program-community relations, inter-ethnic conflict, curriculum materials and development, financial aid, program-university relations, the recruitment and selection of Indian faculty and para-professionals, the question of the

thrust or focus of the program, and the like, confront programs for Indian students in higher education. Even so, the following observation has been made by Fuchs and Havighurst (1972:264):

Although Native American studies programs are still in their formative stage, it can be predicted with confidence that the development of these programs in a number of universities will produce Indian scholars who will become major scholars and participants in university life.

But beyond this observation, it can also be stated that such programs offer an opportunity for producing a new cadre of Indian leadership which could substantially contribute to the position of both the reservation and urban communities to which American Indians belong.

#### Self-Determination in Indian Affairs

Ethnic groups newly arrived in settings of higher education bring with them a historical and cultural set of experiences relative to the dominant society. This past affects ethnic group purpose and organization on the college campuses as it does in other settings of the dominant culture. It is not, therefore, fully possible to consider the role of Native Americans and the functions of Native American programs in settings of higher education without examining the general cultural and historical position of the American Indian to this time.

The Native Americans' experience with the dominant

culture can be viewed, and increasingly is by Indians themselves, from within a set of general ideas subsumed under the concept of self-determination. Central to these ideas in the past and in the present is the maintenance of the Indian cultural group in the face of persistent demands for socio-cultural changes by the dominant culture. This set of ideas can be considered a self-determination model. Its basic points grow out of the traditional relationships between the tribes and the American government, the New Deal period of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and its resurrection under the Nixon Administration after a hiatus known as "termination" (roughly 1950-1970) wherein the federal government seemed bent on liquidating its responsibilities and services to Native Americans.

Historically, the contact relationship between Indian tribes and the dominant culture has moved between declaring the tribes independent at one moment and dependent the next. Tribal units, on the other hand, have sought to control where possible external factors impinging upon them and to reinforce unity from within through the ability to control their own internal processes. In brief, tribal organization and unity have stood as an "intervening" force between the Indian population and the dominant culture. Avoidance of Indian peoples becoming a mere dependent variable of external forces has been the essence of

self-determination as viewed by Native Americans.

Prior to 1871, the United States government recognized the various Indian tribes as "distinct, independent, political communities" and "domestic dependent nations" as Chief Justice Marshall put it in Worcester v. Georgia (1832) and Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) (Brophy and Aberle 1966:24). But it was also the same Marshall who made the famous analogy that the relationship between Indians and the U.S. government was like a "ward to a guardian" in the latter case of 1831. While it is clear that Marshall's statement was a limited application of an analogy, and did not imply that the Indian peoples were wards to the extent that the federal government could manage their persons and estates as it saw fit, this was to be the interpretation that increasingly took hold in the years after the Civil War and in particular during the period of "forced acculturation" associated with the Dawes Act. The United States government recognized, however, the self-governing and self-determining nature of the tribes by entering into almost four hundred treaties with them (Ibid.) until 1871, when Congress ended the treaty-making period and relationship between itself and the tribes.

However, even before the period of reform zeal which eventuated in the Dawes Act of 1887, United States' policy was moving toward greater internal control of the tribal

cultural system. Thus as Fey and McNickle (1970:106-107) point out:

In the 1860's the volume of Indian legislation increased, and some of it intruded the power of the United States in internal tribal affairs. An act of 1862 provided that a chief or headman might be removed from office as a punitive measure. Legislation of this nature increased sharply after 1871, and the effects of legislation in time penetrated every sphere of tribal, family, and individual interest. Regulations written to effect the purposes of legislation multiplied the opportunities for directing and controlling Indian action.

Euro-Americans from the beginning came with romantic ideas of the Indian as a "natural man," a "noble savage," but one who needed to have structure and discipline. As Stewart (1965:496) has said: "The Europeans were, however, unwilling to trust the Indian, as a free agent, to improve himself voluntarily. The Europeans brought with them an idea of order, which must be imposed upon the red man, in order that he might attain his highest potentialities..." (Stewart's emphasis). This theme was to reappear in the reform period of the 1880's. Thus as Stewart (Ibid.:500) says of this time:

No longer was the aim to exterminate the Indians, who appeared to be a vanishing race anyway. Now, instead of destroying the Indian, the objective was to extinguish the Indian cultures, which when viewed through the ethnocentric lens of the white observers still seemed inferior. This, it was decided arbitrarily (and with no consideration of the wishes of the Indians themselves), was all that was necessary to 'Americanize' the Native Americans. Accordingly, strenuous efforts were to be made to

eradicate the Indian cultures: Indian tribal governments, native religions, systems of land-ownership -- all were to be destroyed. In order to facilitate this extirpation of the Indian heritage, children were snatched from their parents and taken to boarding schools, which were in many cases far from their reservation homes. The children were to be kept in the schools for from four to eight years, and usually were not permitted to visit their parents even during vacations. In school, the hair of the children was cut short, and they were subjected to rigorous disciplines of a military nature. Indian languages, styles of dress, and religious practices were all strictly forbidden.

Order and structure would be imposed. And in the process the Indian would become a whiteman, a farmer. Thus, the Indian was put under a process of forced acculturation, and at the same time there were deep erosions in tribal self-determination and self-education through the enculturation process.

From the 1880's until the 1930's, the Indian was the supposed beneficiary of this policy symbolized by the Dawes Act, with its emphasis upon allotment of tribal lands and the attempt to make a farmer out of the Indian in an age of emerging and booming industrialism. As a result of this policy, by the 1930's the Indian had lost over two-thirds of his remaining land base possessed when the act went into effect (and a high percentage of the remaining one-third was arid or semi-arid). Locked into a closed reservation system, treated as a ward and welfare client, little was done to develop Indian lands or resources by those in

charge of national policy.

The first major research effort into the state of Indian affairs came in the years 1926-28 with the Meriam Survey. This Brookings Institution team report cited dismal case after case and statistic after statistic to the effect that economic stagnation, disease, poor housing, and other indices of sociocultural disintegration marked America's Indian population. This report emphasized the need for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be revitalized and that "education" in the broadest sense be the mission of the Bureau, one devoted toward the development of human and natural resources of Indian peoples, so that they might be assimilated or live in decency and health in the face of Euro-American culture (Fey and McNickle 1970:98).

With the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, and under the operation of John Collier as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, attempts were made to increase the Indian's voice in determining his own affairs, all the while promoting the economic, political, educational, and overall cultural development of the tribes. This new policy was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

The Indian Reorganization Act was, in the words of Fey and McNickle (Ibid.:108-109), "designed to restore the wreckage of a hundred years. It was an effort to rethink the objectives of Indian administration. It reasserted the

doctrine of internal tribal sovereignty. Administrative control over Indian life had been a destructive and self-defeating device, not a solution to Indian problems." Or, as Brophy and Aberle (1966:26) state, the new law "went so far as to encourage community, tribal, and corporate action as the best way for the race to learn modern practices;" and that the act "recognized the importance of Indian communal life as an agency for preserving and encouraging social controls and values on which the people could base innovations made by themselves"....thereby seeking "to transfer the initiative from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the tribesmen concerned" (Ibid.:20).

John Collier, as quoted by Officer (1971:44), said: "The new Indian policy must be built around the group dynamics potentials of Indian life. This meant an ending of the epoch of forced atomization, cultural prescription, and administrative absolutism..." (My emphasis.) Collier went on to point out the importance of "group dynamics" in the new policy of giving more power to the Indians when he said:

The most significant clue to achieving full Indian democracy within and as a part of American democracy, is the continued survival, through all historical change and disaster, of the Indian tribal group, both as a real entity and a legal entity. I suspect the reason we do not always give this fact the recognition it deserves is that we do not want to recognize it. Indian 'tribalism' seems to be foreign to our American way of life. It seems to block

individual development. We do not know how to deal with it. Consciously or unconsciously, we ignore it or try to eliminate it. Remove the tribe, rehabilitate the individual, and our problem is solved -- so runs our instinctive thinking. (As quoted in Fey and McNickle 1970: 158.)

After pointing out that the tribe as a legal concept is embodied in many statutes, administrative and executive decisions, plus court decisions, and therefore has a substantive legal reality, Collier noted how the Indian Reorganization Act "greatly clarified and strengthened" the tribe converting it:

...from a static to a dynamic concept. Congress, through the Indian Reorganization Act, invoked the tribe as a democratic operational mechanism. It reaffirmed the powers inherent in Indian tribes and set those powers to work for modern community development. In doing so, Congress recognized that most Indians were excluded from local civic government and that no human beings can prosper, or even survive, in a vacuum. If we strip the word tribe of its primitive and atavistic connotations, and consider tribes merely as primary or somewhat localized human groups, we can see that Indian tribal government, for most Indians, is the only presently feasible type of local civic self-government they can share in and use for their advancement. (Ibid.; my emphasis.)

Collier went on to emphasize that it was not the policy of the government to force the issue of assimilation. He said: "Indians have the right to self-determination. And cultural diversity is by no means inimical to national unity..." (Ibid.).

In an era of choice, Collier said, it would not do to

terminate the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It was still needed. But it was "moving from guardian to advisor, from administrator to friend in court. In this transition, many powers hitherto exercised by the Indian service have been transferred to the organized tribes; many more such powers will be transferred. As Indians advance in self-government, they will begin to provide many of their own technical and social services..." (Ibid.).

Thus, Collier saw more Indian initiative internally. Relations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs would change so that:

In place of an Indian Bureau monopoly of Indian affairs, there must be sought a cumulative involvement of all agencies of helpfulness, Federal, state, local and unofficial; but the method must not be that of simply dismembering the Indian Service, but rather of transforming it into a technical servicing agency and a coordinating, evaluating and within limitations, regulating agency. (As quoted in Officer 1971:-44.)

The Meriam survey had been particularly critical of the failure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in not working with other agencies. It was to become more involved in the thirties with the Department of Agriculture, Civilian Conservation Corps, and other agencies, including state and university ones (Fey and McNickle 1970:117-118). In particular, the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 facilitated this trend by making it possible for the Secretary of the Interior (and hence the Indian Bureau) to enter into

contracts with states and territories to provide services to Indians and by later amendment educational institutions at all levels, along with the private sector of the economy (Ibid.:118).

Indeed, the original draft of the Indian Reorganization Act went toward a concept that was only to be grudgingly accepted in more recent years. That was the concept of broad local control by the Indian community. As Fey and McNickle (Ibid.:119) put it:

The original draft of the Wheeler-Howard bill would have granted Indian communities broad authority to fill positions in local field offices, to take over and operate functions and services, and even, by popular vote, to request the discontinuance of any separable function or service. In the event a function was assumed by the local community, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to make a legal transfer of funds originally appropriated for the purpose, lands, buildings, and equipment; and thereafter the community might make annual requests to the Secretary for funds to continue operations.

This, however, was apparently too much for Congress and those in the Bureau who saw in the provision a dismantling of the Bureau's functions and controls.

As the Second World War came on, the thrust of the Indian New Deal slowed. In the post-war years there was the beginning of the dismantling of the Collier reforms and, indeed, the desire to "get the government out of the Indian business" as it was crudely but correctly put, while others spoke of "termination." These movements

resulted in the termination of several small and some large tribes, with the two most famous examples being the Klamath of Oregon and the Menominee of Wisconsin. The termination era was to paralyze Indian community development. The Bureau of Indian Affairs seemed more interested in liquidating its responsibilities rather than promoting development. Indians had no incentive for showing progress; to show progress was to demonstrate that one was "ready" for termination. As the important "Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian" said in its report (Brophy and Aberle 1966:188): "To say the least, termination has been ill considered and weak; to say more, it has proved genuinely destructive of its announced aim." This theme was to be repeated by later investigations of this period.

With the advent of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, there was some lessening of termination fears in Indian country. But these were not substantially reduced until the statement of the Nixon Administration in 1970.

A major advance in reservation development did occur during the Johnson Administration, particularly in industrial development (Sorkin 1971:80-103). Another important set of events during the Johnson years was the "War on Poverty" led by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This brought community action programs, Headstart, Neighborhood

Youth Corps, VISTA, and other programs to the reservation. There was the Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce, the Labor Department on manpower, HEW on education, and others. As a trend started in the thirties, this put the Bureau of Indian Affairs under considerable pressure. As Fey and McNickle (1970:246) state:

This involvement of a number of government agencies ended the long monopoly of Indian affairs. Historically, Indians had been the exclusive concern of the Department of the Interior and its Indian Bureau. The first break occurred in 1955, when health work was transferred from the Bureau to the United States Public Health Service, where it was set up as a separate and special function, and the Surgeon General promptly created an advisory committee of Indians and medical practitioners.

Of more significance were the changes in attitude and operating procedures that came with the new agencies. With no hardened regulations dictating action and no traditional policies to defend, it was possible to serve in an advisory capacity and to give priority to Indian planning; they had no commitment to a strategy of assimilating Indian people into white, urban society.

It was also such organizations as the Office of Economic Opportunity which entered into contractual relationships with the local Indian community. Here, through community action programs and educational projects to cite a few, the Indian community set up and directed its own programs after having obtained a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Increasingly this concept of contracting for services by Indian tribes and its allowance for Native American control became a major centerpiece in

the concept of self-determination which was again building in the late sixties.

While the exposition thus far on self-determination has concentrated on government policies which hewed to that line or deviated from it, the emphasis should shift to where it rightly belongs -- to the Indian. For before the white administrator and government policy maker was talking or acting within the self-determination framework, the Native American was stating that this was what he wanted. However, the administrators dealing with Indians seldom understood and seldom listened. As Josephy (1971:16) has said: "The Indian was never silent. He spoke out, trying to tell the white man what his people needed and what they could accept. But the whites, with few exceptions, never listened."

And it was to be in the ranks of the young Indians that new voices would come forth to take up once again the demand for self-determination. As Josephy (Ibid.:83) states: "In general, in the late 1960's, the most articulate and insistent arguments for Indian self-determination were made by young, college-educated Indians. They were a new generation, proud of their Indian heritage, unwilling to share their fathers' acceptance of white paternalism, and contemptuous of the society of the white man, which everywhere around them seemed to be falling into disarray."

They were to attack on many fronts, as Josephy goes on to point out, and call for a new orientation rather than the status quo manned by "colonialist bureaucrats," "white 'Indian experts,'" "red apples (red on the outside and white on the inside)," and those in positions of power in the Indian community -- "Uncle Tomahawks."

These were the "new Indians" (Steiner 1968; Deloria 1969) of the late sixties, at times using the slogans and rhetoric of the Black struggle, but in the main articulating the themes and principles of Native Americans through the centuries as directed toward the dominant culture.

As described by Josephy (1971:17):

In the new climate the strongest and loudest Indian voices are those that speak selflessly and patriotically of Red -- or Indian -- Power. Their numbers are swelling, particularly among the younger Indians. In substance their message is no different from what it has been for decades, but it is more challenging and insistent. It demands, rather than pleads for, self-determination: the right of Indians to decide programs and policies for themselves, to manage their own affairs, to govern themselves, and to control their land and its resources. It insists on the inviolability of their land and on the strict observance and protection of obligations and rights guaranteed the Indians by treaties with the federal government.

One of the foremost spokesmen among younger Indians was Clyde Warrior, then President of the National Indian Youth Council, who, speaking before the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, said the

following (Warrior 1971:84):

We are not free. We do not make choices. Our choices are made for us; we are the poor. For those of us who live on reservations these choices and decisions are made by federal administrators, bureaucrats, and their 'yes men,' euphemistically called tribal governments. Those of us who live in non-reservation areas have our lives controlled by local white power elites. We have many rulers. They are called social workers, 'cops,' school teachers, churches, etc., and now OEO employees. They call us into meetings to tell us what is good for us and how they've programmed us, or they come into our homes to instruct us and their manners are not always what one would call polite by Indian standards or perhaps by any standards.

Warrior went on to emphasize the need for Indians to develop competence through and the need to gain control over their own programs if they were to move forward as a group (Ibid.:87-88):

For the sake of our children, for the sake of the spiritual and material well-being of our total community we must be able to demonstrate competence to ourselves. For the sake of our psychic stability as well as our physical well-being we must be free men and exercise free choice. We must make decisions about our own destinies. We must be able to learn and profit by our own mistakes. Only then can we become competent and prosperous communities....Even the best of outside programs suffer from one very large defect -- if the program falters helpful outsiders too often step in to smooth over the rough spots. At that point any program ceases to belong to the people involved and ceases to be a learning experience for them. Programs must be Indian creations, Indian choices, Indian experiences. Even the failures must be Indian experiences because only then will Indians understand why a program failed and not blame themselves for personal inadequacy....But to achieve this experience, competence, worthiness,

sense of achievement and the resultant material prosperity Indians must have the responsibility in the ultimate sense of the word....And I do not mean the fictional responsibility and democracy of passive consumers of programs; programs which emanate from and whose responsibility for success rests in the hands of outsiders -- be they federal administrators or local white elitist groups.

In 1970, President Nixon took note of this new demand in Native American affairs for self-determination. In a historic message to Congress, he said the following (Nixon 1971:228):

Self-determination among the Indian people can and must be encouraged without the threat of eventual termination. In my view, in fact, that is the only way that self-determination can be effectively fostered.

This, then, must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people: to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community. We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group. And we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of federal control without being cut off from Federal concern and Federal support.

President Nixon went on to say "that cultural pluralism is a source of national strength" (Ibid.), assuring the Indian people that the relationship between the federal government and the Indians would not be broken but changed in the direction of greater tribal initiative.

Returning to the principles of the Indian Reorganization Act, including the portion left out dealing with local control, Nixon emphasized that local control could be pro-

moted through contracts whereby the tribe would administer all the programs (or any number chosen) formerly carried out by the Indian Bureau. The Zuni of New Mexico were the first to be self-determining in this way, and in December of 1970 the Indian Bureau had "almost thirty requests by Indian groups in different parts of the country to take over control of some or all of their own affairs" (Josephy 1971:224).

In the area of education the activities of the Navaho people have been in the forefront of those movements to develop models of Indian self-education and self-determination. First there was the Rough Rock Demonstration School with its emphasis upon bicultural education, a Navaho school board, Navaho studies, the teaching of the Navaho language, the close articulation between the school and the community culture, all the while trying to build competence in non-Navaho culture as well. The Navaho Community College, the first Indian initiated and controlled college, is premised upon the same features. As Fuchs and Havighurst (1972:265) state:

Navajo Community College accepts and recognizes the reality of and persistence of Indian culture and Indian institutions. It holds that uniquely Indian values, skills, and insights are highly functional in the modern world today, and just as Indian knowledge contributed to the survival of European settlers in the New World, so today, Indians have much to contribute to the survival of American and world society. Navajo Community College is based upon the assumption

that not only is it possible for Navajos to direct and control their own institutions, but that this is the only way they ever will be able to assume total responsibility and self-support, at least as a group.

And so things once again came full circle. After a period of feverish termination, the federal government was willing to allow Indian peoples to have their own school boards, to finance the construction costs of a Navaho Community College (with a great deal of tribal money already invested), to permit Indian communities to contract for services, to be responsible and accountable without an omniscient bureaucracy, and to recognize that Native American culture can promote Indian progress and development, that it had value, purpose, and meaning to those who possessed it.

In general, the self-determination model in Indian affairs has come to emphasize the following:

1. Resurrecting and promoting the internal sovereignty of the tribal unit as a sociocultural system to further community development and modernization.
2. Recognition and acceptance of the premise that tribal sovereignty promotes development and modernization while maintaining Native American values and identity.
3. The rejection of an administrative structure (Bureau of Indian Affairs) which has a monopoly of control in bringing services to Indians.
4. Promoting the use of one or many

structures through the principle of contracting in order to encourage local community initiation and control of programs by Native Americans.

5. The willingness to utilize one or several structures in serving Native Americans is recognized as not ending the fact that they as a group still have a unique status within the nation and a special relationship with the federal government. It merely allows that relationship to continue by other structural means which are felt by Native Americans to be most conducive to their community needs.

Self-determination, then, is a general set of ideas, open to interpretation and application as the situation or issue presents itself to the participants involved. While self-determination is a general policy in Indian affairs, it has also become an Indian ideology, subject to varied contents and perceived outcomes by Indian leaders. Self-determination puts an emphasis upon the maintenance of the Indian cultural group, Indian control over programs designed to assist them on and off the reservation, and at the same time promotes Indian development and progress as a group. It is an emerging framework of ideas from which Indians judge their relationships with the dominant society.

In the area of public education self-determination is expressed in terms such as has been noted for the Navaho. In settings of higher education it is expressed in terms of Native Americans seeking to preserve Indian identity and culture while obtaining higher education. Through Indian

student unions and variable forms of Native American programs, there is an attempt to maintain an Indian cultural group, have some control over their own programs, and at the same time obtain an education in higher education institutions which will individually and as a group promote Indian progress and development. Therefore, the presence of Indian students and the organizations which are spawned in higher education settings are a part of the larger movement of events and ideas which are encompassed in the concept of self-determination.

#### Native Americans in Oregon Higher Education

Data on Indian students at all educational levels in Oregon are scant. However, the State Intergroup Human Relations Commission in Oregon reported in its Racial and Ethnic Survey 1971 that there had been an increase in Indian students from 2,677 in 1968-1969 to 3,627 in 1970-1971 at the elementary and secondary levels (State Intergroup Human Relations Commission 1971:6).

A report by Lincicum (1972:6) for the Educational Coordinating Council of Oregon provides some insights on the post-high school educational plans of Oregon Indian students. Lincicum reported the following (Table 1) about the first preference of Indian students after leaving high school in Oregon:

TABLE 1

FIRST CHOICE POST-HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES OF THE SENIOR  
CLASS OF 1972 IN OREGON HIGH SCHOOLS  
BY CULTURAL GROUPS: AMERICAN INDIANS

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<u>Activity</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Military, Work or Homemaking	43.8
School or College (Full-time)	40.3
School or College (Part-time)	14.7
Other (travel, etc.)	1.2
Total	<u>100.0</u>

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Lincicum (Ibid.:5) concluded from these data relative to other minority groups in the survey that "Students of American Indian and Mexican American descent are much more likely to choose work, military, or home-making as their first preference, and these same students are less likely to desire post-high school education than members of other ethnic groups."

The same pattern for American Indian and Mexican American students held when it came to the type of college or school program that was preferred by those who indicated post-high school educational plans after graduation. Thus Lincicum (Ibid.:10) shows that 54.8 per cent of these

Indian students preferred a vocational-technical program and 45.2 per cent preferred an academic program.<sup>2</sup> For Mexican American youth, 41.8 per cent preferred an academic program and 58.2 per cent a vocational-technical program. These data are forcefully in contrast to Oriental Americans who in the survey had only 36.3 per cent whose preference was vocational-technical, while 63.7 per cent preferred an academic program. Blacks in the survey were about evenly divided.

The Oregon Educational Coordinating Council (1971) reported there were 431 full-time Indian students enrolled in Oregon higher education units in the fall of 1970. The Council, basing its data on Civil Rights Compliance Reports for the fall of 1970, broke these figures (Table 2) down as follows in terms of number and institutional type:

TABLE 2

FULL-TIME INDIAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN INSTITUTIONS OF  
HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF OREGON, FALL 1970

<u>Institutional Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
Community Colleges	115
Public Four-Year Institutions	290
Independent Institutions	26
Total	431

<sup>2</sup> These data are very similar to the national findings of Havighurst and Fuchs when it comes to program type chosen by Native Americans who go on to post-high school education.

To assist Indian students attending various post-secondary institutions in Oregon, a number of Indian programs have been created to help Native American students enter and succeed in the college environment. None of these programs are of the Indian studies departmental type and/or the urban-based, activist-militant model with Indian studies, community involvement, and supportive services. Instead, their orientation is toward the provision of supportive services in the main, with Indian studies courses being a part of the regular curriculum.

In Oregon, the first program for Indian students was started by Native American students at the University of Oregon. This organization was on a voluntary and informal basis from 1968-1970. In 1970-1971 the Native American Program, as it was titled, joined with other on-going voluntary programs into a more formalized organizational structure known as the Office of Supportive Services. Through the new organizational form it was possible to obtain greater resources in the form of funds from the federal government, and it was expected that there would be greater coordination of services for ethnic and disadvantaged students. Ethnic-based programs such as the Native American Program, however, were given considerable autonomy as they assisted the University of Oregon in bringing supportive services to students.

In 1969-1970 there was the beginning of the Indian Education Institute at Eastern Oregon College (EOC). The goal of EOC was to concentrate its resources and efforts for minority students on Indian students given the large number of reservations in the area. The Indian Education Institute recruited and selected Indian students, provided supportive services, and encouraged curriculum development in some courses so that they reflected Indian history and culture. Given the closeness of Indian reservations, there has been Indian community interest and involvement in the program; and the program has attempted to encourage its students toward community involvement. Organizationally, the program is not a part of a larger administrative organization with other minority or disadvantaged students (Oregon State System of Higher Education 1972:46-53).

Indian students at Oregon State University were organized through an Indian club in 1969, but there was not a formal program. Rather, Indian students were a part of the Educational Opportunities Program, an organization which provided ongoing supportive services for all minority and disadvantaged students. In the spring of 1972, however, there was increasing support for Native American program development on the Oregon State University campus. Within the Educational Opportunities structure, this program development took the form of a Native American Counseling

Program. A part-time Indian counselor was hired for the fall of 1972, there were funds available for a part-time position for recruiting Indian students, and the University requested of the legislature as a top priority item the provision of additional developmental funds for a Native American Counseling Program within the Educational Opportunities Program structure. Also on the Oregon State University campus were signs of more courses dealing with Indian history and culture as well as more contacts with urban and reservation Indian communities.

There have also been an increasing number of Indian programs at the community college level in Oregon. Some examples would be Lane Community College, Eugene; Blue Mountain Community College, Pendleton; and Central Oregon Community College, Bend. These programs are essentially supportive service in nature.

Also within the state of Oregon is an example of an alternative educational system for Indians modeled upon the Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University experiment. This is the Chicano-Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO). CISCO's instructional efforts are directed in three major areas (Chicano-Indian Study Center of Oregon 1972:- 1):

1. Instructional programs offering course work in health services, child care, career preparation, and academic preparation.

2. Residential programs dealing with nutrition, health care, child care, housing maintenance, halfway house programs, and cultural identity programs.
3. Extension programs offering courses especially designed for minority persons in many localities throughout the region.

CISCO's efforts are directed toward the poor, Chicanos, and Indians. The emphasis is premised upon community action and practical course work, and it states that present educational efforts for minorities, including Indians, at the post-secondary level are inadequate. This latter criticism extends to various programs for Native Americans at four year institutions and community colleges.

Explaining the cultural significance of the Native American programs at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University involves substantially more than their being viewed simply as special institutional efforts to serve disadvantaged students. The cultural situation of the programs and their participants involves manifold processes of acculturation, assimilation and incorporation. It encompasses different value formulae related to goals and conditions of cultural uniformity or pluralism. It involves changes in organization and challenges to the maintenance of both the educational institution and the ethnic community concerned.

These factors and others of a theoretical nature are addressed in the next chapter.

### CHAPTER III

#### THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Two noted ethnic relations works in the early sixties (Glazier and Moynihan 1963; Gordon 1964) documented the continuing strength of ethnicity and cultural differences in America. But in neither of these works was there any prediction of the ethnic upsurge of the mid-sixties and which continues to the present. As Gordon (Ibid: 8) indicates, little consideration has been given to what our social policies and/or choices are to be in ethnic relations: whether American society wants total assimilation, cultural pluralism, or the melting pot. Given today's cultural renaissances among American minorities, this has been in part answered by the rejection of assimilation or any ideology that implies a disappearance of the ethnic or racial group. Yet ethnic relations as an area of social policy and programming remains unclear. Gordon's conclusion in the early sixties stands equally valid today as to the general state of thinking in this area (Ibid.: 9):

"...intergroup relations work in the United States proceeds like a race horse galloping along with blinders. He does not know where he has been, he does not know where he is, and he does not know where he is going. But he's making progress."

The following theoretical orientation delineates

different general ways of conceptualizing and acting in the field of ethnic relations, including education, to provide a perspective on the contemporary relations scene. It provides an assessment of the concepts, processes, and structural characteristics of intergroup relations associated with and utilized in viewing ethnic relations today.

Cultural Uniformity and Difference: Two Models of America's Awareness and Action in Ethnic Relations

Two models of awareness and action have appeared to characterize the American ethnic relations field. One involves an assumption and valuation of cultural uniformity, whereas the other involves an explicit assumption and valuation of cultural pluralism. Both have operated to some extent at any given time, especially in the twentieth century. The former has been predominant historically; the latter, involving cultural differences, has only recently become a national policy idiom.

Cultural Uniformity

The cultural uniformity model in America has been based upon an assumption of growing cultural homogeneity and declining ethnicity. Here the defined problem in ethnic relations has been one of minimizing ethnic differences and maximizing national cultural unity. One element in this model has been traditional notions of assimilating

the ethnically different; a second element has been one marked by various models and programs which have operated to ignore cultural differences and promote cultural uniformity through such concepts as culturally disadvantaged, culture of poverty, and lower-class culture.

The persistence of the assumption that America is or should be culturally homogeneous has influenced numerous directed culture change programs designed to change either the immigrants' culture; or, as in the case of today's poor and ethnically different, their supposedly deviant cultural ways. In each case there has been a uniform cultural approach taken and the expectation of a uniform response pattern or level of sociocultural performance. Where those who are culturally different have not responded in the manner expected, both in the past and in the present, there has been a tendency to "blame the victim" or the target population for program failures given their posited defects or deviancy (Ryan 1971: 112-135). Whether it be the immigrant of the past or the present poor and minorities in the city, there are strong pressures for acceptance of the dominant culture's standards.

Traditional assimilationist approaches concerned newly arriving or resident ethnic groups. One of these, and the most common in American history, demanded that immigrants conform to the dominant Anglo-Saxon cultural ways (Gordon 1964: 88-114). This majority conception of assimilation

was matched by one put forth by various minorities. This was the "melting-pot" or amalgamation theory, which saw not conformity to an existing dominant cultural type but rather a fusion or synthesis of the different ethnic or racial groups into a new American culture (Ibid.: 115-131).

There were many attempts to impose "instant acculturation" on the new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cultural conformity in the form of "Americanization drives" were common and the expectation of conformity to Anglo-Saxon ways was matched by an increasing assertion of pride in Anglo-Saxon culture and "race." This trend reached its height in World War I. Numerous groups and institutions pushed with renewed vigor directed culture change programs against immigrant ways. As Higham (1967: 247) has said of this period:

In large measure the Americanizers were swept in the current of 100 percent Americanism... They set about to stampede immigrants into citizenship, into adoption of the English language, and into unquestionable reverence for existing American institutions. They bade them abandon entirely their Old World loyalties, customs, and memories. They used high-pressure, steam-roller tactics. They cajoled and they commanded.

The schools, too, were directly involved in the process of directed culture change. Despite ideological professions of being open to all ethnic, racial, religious, and class backgrounds, the school has not been culturally

neutral. It has been an adherent of assimilationist doctrines and viewed as an agent for social mobility.

Recent "revisionists" in American educational historiography have challenged the performance of the school in assimilating the poor and ethnically different as well as providing mobility. Katz (1968) sees American education reform in the mid-nineteenth century resulting in the middle class as beneficiaries more than benefactors in the movement to create the "common" or public school. The lower-classes and ethnically different of that period received few benefits and were described in terms strikingly similar to today's ghetto and urban populations. Education for the poor was to be socialization for their appropriate roles in the emerging industrial order.

More recently, Greer (1972) finds that the schools did not really assist ethnic groups in the assimilation process, nor in terms of social mobility. He feels that the ethnic culture had values which were rewarded in the dominant culture, and that the role of ethnic institutions such as the church, associations, and businesses as well as the factory, union and political machine of the host culture were more important factors in the adaptation process than the schools (Ibid.: 93). To Greer the schools operate on two myths, what he calls the "great school legend," concerning the poor and culturally different: first, they have helped them in the past; second, that if not

perfect in the past, the schools can do it now. Greer feels that today Blacks in particular are blamed for not replicating the supposed success patterns of previous immigrants and poor people through the schools. But Greer holds that the schools failed in the past, are now, and they blame the poor and culturally different for not succeeding rather than examining their own system. He concludes by saying (Ibid.: 153-154): "Social scientists and schoolmen are convinced of their own good will toward the disadvantaged. When their efforts fail--modest as they have been--someone else must be at fault."

Social scientific conceptions and practitioners' attitudes toward the poor and culturally different constitute a second type of the cultural uniformity model of awareness and action. Three different conditional models have been put forward for viewing them. These are the social pathology, culture of poverty, and lower-class culture models. Each finds a defect or deficit in the poor or minorities that calls for remediation.

Baratz and Baratz (1970) have recently addressed themselves to the question of the social pathology model. This viewpoint stresses the social disorganization and individual pathologies found among the disadvantaged. Mills (1963: 525-552) first analyzed this model and its "professional ideology." Mills contended (the essay was first published in 1943) that in sociology and the social services field

there was an underlying assumption of disorganization in the values and organizations of different groups; that this disorganization had to be corrected by adjusting individuals and groups to a standard that was non-pathological. That standard was typically a middle-class one to which others were expected to conform. Mills concluded (Ibid.: 551): "The ideally adjusted man of the social pathologists is 'socialized.' This term seems to operate ethically as the opposite of 'selfish;' it implies that the adjusted man conforms to middle-class morality and motives and 'participates' in the gradual progress of respectable institutions." Mills found little analysis or questioning by the social pathologists of the social system in terms of norms, institutional arrangements, and stratification.

The social disorganization theme emerges in sociology from men such as Tonnies, Durkheim, and others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, men who saw in urban-industrial society the breakdown of community which supposedly marked traditional rural societies (Ferkiss 1969: 69). Here the emphasis was upon the need to create a new "organic solidarity" in the face of change in modern society.

This social disorganization viewpoint took root in American sociology through the Chicago school of urban sociology in the early 1920's. These sociologists were concerned about the breakdown of traditional social

institutions and controls in the city under the impacts of urbanization and industrialization as America shifted from a rural to an urban-industrial society.

Robert Park, in particular, of the Chicago school was an adherent of this viewpoint. He took existing social disorganization in Chicago's slums as the starting point for his studies as did others who were influenced by him. Park worried about how this disorganization threatened the existence of social order and a society's central values (Stein 1964: 19). He urged that "secondary control agencies" such as the schools, police, and settlement houses work to ensure social stability among the perceived disorganized and isolated social elements of the city. It was expected, to quote Stein (Ibid: 26), that these secondary control agencies would help to "spread 'proper' values among potential offenders." This provided a rationale for social action policies and programs to intervene in these areas to correct the posited disorganization and pathology that was there. Even a sympathetic reviewer like Stein admits that Park and others of the Chicago school tended to overemphasize the disorganization of the slum to a neglect of its organization, that they "did tend to define some (Stein's emphasis) problems too narrowly in terms of middle class values," and a study such as Whyte's Street Corner Society, "less encumbered by middle class assumptions" offered another perspective on life in the slums by showing

its high level of human organization (Ibid.: 119-121).

Williams (1970) has shown how concern over poverty among social scientists and policy-makers in the sixties resulted in the emergence of the concepts of culturally disadvantaged and culturally deprived, both derivatives of the social pathology viewpoint. People who were seen as a part of a poverty cycle, and hence economically disadvantaged, were also seen as being that way because they could not obtain a decent job. A good job depended upon a good education. But many groups were not doing well in the schools. This was held to be due to their community, family structure, and values. Thus those who were economically disadvantaged were that way because of their cultural disadvantages. Thus by analogy the concept of economic disadvantage was transformed into culturally disadvantaged (Ibid.: 2-3). The group culture was to blame for being disadvantaged and therefore its adherents being unable to take advantage of existing opportunities.

Various weaknesses in the family structure (Moynihan 1965), values (Banfield 1970), language (Williams 1970), and the like were held to be holding back the poor and culturally different. In the social services and in education (cf. Herndon 1967; Kozol 1967; Kohl 1967; Clark 1965; Hickerson 1966; and Rosenfeld 1972) the culturally disadvantaged theme worked to find defects in the poor and culturally different. In this way, the emphasis was upon

eliminating this deviant culture through directed culture change. As Ryan says about this "art of savage discovery" by the schools (1971: 24):

Prescriptions for cure, written by the Savage Discovery set, are invariably conceived to revamp and revise the victim, never to change the surrounding circumstances. They want to change his attitudes, alter his values, fill up his cultural deficits, energize his apathetic soul, cure his character defects, train him and polish him and woo him away from his savage ways.

In the same way, these concepts were being applied to Indian children and the problems of Indian education, resulting in what the Waxes (1971) call a "vacuum ideology" that found little of value in the cultural institutions or values of the Indian community.

Closely related to the social pathology model are the concepts of culture of poverty (Lewis 1966) and lower-class culture (Miller 1958). The former was put forward by an anthropologist; the latter represents a long line of thought in sociology stemming from Frazier (1966), Myrdal (1944), to Moynihan (1965), all influenced by the urban sociology of the Chicago school. Both of these concepts assert that the lower-class poor have a subculture of poverty and do not share dominant cultural values (middle class); that the subculture is pathological, disorganized, and deviant from middle class values; that the subculture is culturally transmitted from generation to generation and therefore self-perpetuating, leading to the inability to take

advantage of social opportunities; hence the poverty subculture or values associated with lower-class life must be eliminated by acculturating the poor before poverty itself can be eliminated; and this can be done through directed culture change programs in education and the social services (Valentine 1968: 141-142).

The concepts of poverty culture and lower-class culture raise certain important questions and issues for conceptualization, policy, and programming: Are the poor adapting to situations beyond their control while still adhering to dominant cultural values? Or, is there a self-perpetuating, deviant subculture? Or, do these concepts confuse differences with legitimate ethnic cultural expressions? (Rodman 1971: 190).

One viewpoint, that of Liebow (1967: 223), says there is no self-perpetuating culture transmitted by the poor that maintains poverty and leads to an inability to take advantage of opportunity. Rather than changing the values of the poor, he suggests that the poor are adapting to situations structured from the outside, and these externalized conditions must be changed if they are to be able to realize the values they share with the dominant culture.

The culture of poverty and lower-class culture concepts, however, state there is a self-perpetuating culture that prevents the poor from taking advantage of opportunity; therefore, directed culture change must eliminate this

deviancy and the poor can then take advantage of opportunity.

Valentine (1968) and other critics (Leacock 1971) of this viewpoint say that the culture of poverty is not a culture in the anthropological sense: that Lewis' formulation consists of traits, is not a "design for living," and is not culturally transmitted (Valentine 1968: 115-120). Valentine states that the poverty culture's existence is unproven, and it confuses the ethnic culture, Blacks in particular, of different groups. For example, Berger (1970: 127), who states that "stripped of its mystique..." Black culture is "basically an American Negro version of lower-class culture..."

Valentine says (1972: 13) that social stratification in America is not only on the basis of class but race and ethnicity as well. Thus all these formulations simply apply uniform and unproven concepts that ignore or deny ethnic differences and the role of ethnical and racial factors in accounting for the position of the poor. This gives social policy and program-makers an unwarranted rationale for directed culture change programs. They refuse to recognize the diversity and heterogeneity in such large categories as lower-class and Blacks given their application of uniform constructs and the misuse of the culture concept; and they ignore the operation of external forces which place the poor in their structural position,

forces of ethnic and racial prejudice and discrimination. Thus these concepts of poverty culture and lower-class culture are middle class rationales for blaming the poor and escaping blame on the part of society's institutions.

Valentine suggests, then, that there is a basic confusion of culture and class here. That is, that both culture of poverty and lower-class culture theorists fail to recognize legitimate ethnic differences given their constructs, their role in the total social system in placing persons and groups in certain stratificational positions, and the fact that ethnic differences are vitally important in group existence and group conflict. Valentine says that such broad-gauge constructs as these ignore heterogeneity, ignore the operation of external forces on the poor, and provide a middle class and institutional rationale for escaping responsibility and reform by saying it is the poor who are responsible for their problems and must be changed if they are to be accepted.

This confusion of class and culture stems from the sociology of Warner in the thirties (Ryan 1971:129-133). His pioneer studies of stratification, however, equated class with life-style or prestige, or what Weber (Gerth and Mills 1946: 69) called status and clearly distinguished from class, the control over economic resources. But Warner defined class primarily in status terms; hence in

time the term class-culture. Warner and Srole (1945) also saw mobility in the class structure as leading towards assimilation and the decline in ethnic groups and ethnicity. Increasingly ethnic units were seen as being dispersed throughout the social system by means of their inclusion in the stratification system. Ethnicity and ethnic cultures were seen as being in decline.

As American sociology turned more to structural-functional analyses of American society (Parsons 1937; 1951), classes became major structural units for study, and there was an assumption of greater cultural homogeneity and value-consensus in the social system as a whole. Even sociologists who were more oriented toward social conflict models in society (Cosser 1956; Dahrendorf: 1959) tended to ignore the ethnic or racial bases of conflict.

These trends in sociology are well-summarized by Despres (1967: 18) when he states the following:

Many of them derive their theoretical posture from the tradition of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Radcliffe-Brown, and Talcott Parsons. They adhere to the principle that societies are consensual normative systems. Culture as a variable is relevant only to the extent that it represents a system of 'shared symbolic meanings which makes communication possible in an ordered social life.' The differentiation of cultural sections is considered to be a structural problem that may be dealt with in terms of stratification theory. Social class divisions not only distribute the members of different cultural groups with reference to social statuses, different degrees of political power, and different social functions, but they also serve to integrate different cultural groups within the

overall social structure of the society. In other words, in terms of this unitary theory of society, cultural groups are structurally integrated into the total system, and to consider them as separate sections is misleading.

Despres (Ibid.) shows the cultural uniformity base to this viewpoint by stating that its proponents minimize "the theoretical significance of historically rooted subcultures in favor of the point of view that they no longer retain an independent identity." Thus by enmeshing individuals and groups from different ethnic backgrounds into the stratification system, it is assumed that value-consensus will develop in order to integrate the society and thereby overcome any pluralistic tendencies. Flowing from such a viewpoint is an emphasis upon assimilation and the consequent expectation that conflicts will be limited to the point where the system will not be destroyed (Ibid.: 19-20).

In conclusion, similarities between the variants of this model are an equation of difference with deviancy, a refusal to recognize or legitimate differences, a consequent demand for cultural conformity, and at times a persistent pressure for directed culture change. Lest the impression be left that there has continuous pressure for change, it should be noted that different versions of a War on Poverty or Americanization drives have occurred. Indirect pressures have been operant more than through directed actions involving consciously designed public

social policy and action programming. But throughout the viewpoints reviewed there has been a seeming inability to recognize and legitimate cultural pluralism.

### Cultural Pluralism

One variant of awareness and action in the cultural difference model was the assertion of a cultural pluralism based upon the principle of complementarity. This was first put forth by Horace Kallen (1956) at the height of the Americanization drives of the First World War and in the period when debates on immigrant exclusion broke out in the early twenties. Kallen and others stated the idea that the preservation of ethnic differences was within the American tradition; and that the perpetuation of significant amounts of the cultural base of the immigrants was not incompatible with full and equal participation in the civic life, political and economic systems of the nation. Kallen asserted the importance of ethnicity to an individual's identity; that it was something that no man could fully escape, nor should he be forced to deny his heritage. Finally, Kallen emphasized that through the preservation of ethnic differences, each group could make its contribution to the total society in certain areas given its traditions; and yet through the retention of them preserve that which was a central part of an individual's being and identity. Kallen's vision was one of unity with diversity;

an organization of diversity that maintained differences while promoting interaction. His plea was essentially for a consensus based upon a complementarity of relationships which left the opportunity for large areas of ethnic autonomy and hence the persistence of cultural differences.

The cultural pluralism needed as stated in this manner has resolved itself into a plea for understanding and tolerating differences among groups. And at times it has taken on the form of non-interference in the internal workings of the ethnic group. In other words, the argument has gone: (1) there must be a recognition and legitimation of cultural differences rather than their elimination; (2) there should not be any attempt to change the culture of the ethnic group; or (3) if there is to be directed culture change, there must be an understanding of the ethnic culture and utilization of it in promoting change, to the end of not destroying it but improving its bearer's opportunities to maximize it.

Most recently, Baratz and Barazt (1970) have reasserted the importance of this viewpoint. In contrast to the genetic pathology model (which finds significant differences in intelligence between racial

groups) and the previously reviewed social pathology model, the Baratzes assert the need to utilize the cultural difference model. They question the assumptions of those who hold Black culture to be pathological. Particularly in the area of Black English they assert that a "disadvantage created by a difference is not the same thing as a deficit" (Ibid: 36). But this point rules in other areas of so-called disadvantage as well; the point being that many cultural disadvantages as labeled by others are in fact differences. The cultural difference model put forward by the Baratzes, regarding the schools in particular, would have a recognition of the cultural and/or linguistic capacities of Black children recognized and utilized to help them acculturate to the American mainstream, all the while maintaining their identity and cultural heritage.

A second variant in the cultural pluralism model of awareness and action, however, draws upon an assumption of inherent conflict and struggle between cultural groups because of the gross facts of superimposition and structured inequality, particularly in our cultural system. Thus, Valentine (1972: 17) vigorously attacks the Baratzes and others in socio-linguistics, stating that "Even the most sophisticated linguistic analysis,

as such, will not explain away the institutional and systemic racism and ethnocentrism which operate with such crushing force in schools and so many other settings."

Valentine finds that the renewed anthropological interest in the culture of Black people operates on certain wrong assumptions:

This is the notion that Black people's problems are primarily due to misperceptions, false ideas, and inaccurate knowledge held by white people. These authors assume that Black-White conflicts are basically matters of mistaken ideas, derived from misunderstood meanings and resulting in misplaced feelings. From these assumptions they conclude that intergroup problems will be solved if only the dominant group will recognize that a minority culture exists, learn something about these minority patterns, and hopefully attach some kind of positive feelings to these patterns. This allows these writers to reduce intergroup difficulties to problems of information and attitudes (Ibid: 23).

Valentine goes on to warn that such cultural knowledge may be used by dominant groups against the welfare of the minority culture. And that....

American Indians have been more studied than almost any group. Their cultural distinctiveness has been widely celebrated, romanticized, and sentimentalized among Euro-Americans for a long time. Yet these same Native Americans remain one of the most oppressed ethnic collectivities in all America. From this perspective, there seems little reason to hope that, when anthropologists and linguists have done as much in the ghetto as they have on the reservations, any major problem will be solved...(Ibid.: 24).

The essence of Valentine's critique of the complementary cultural pluralism model is that it continues to focus

on the minority culture; it fails to examine the larger cultural system which influences the minority culture; and there is a failure to see the interaction that takes place between the two. Valentine holds that the failure to look at the structure of intergroup relations, the focusing in on the minority culture and its differences, leads social scientists to initial and persisting biases that miss the critical points of analysis:

Each of these biases prevents social scientists from recognizing the main source of the stereotypes with which they begin their studies. This source, well-recognized in Black studies, is the history and dynamics of Euro-American society. Having ruled this out by initial assumptions and prior definitions of the problem, social scientists have only one recourse. They must find the source of White beliefs about Black people in the Afro-American behavior. Ultimately we find them saying in effect that the stereotypes are essentially or largely accurate, and all they suggest we can do is learn to understand the stereotyped behavior better or judge it differently (Ibid.: 25).

Valentine proposes that the Black experience, and others, can be viewed as one of biculturalism, the necessity to operate in two cultural systems, and involves a complex process of biculturation or simultaneously learning two cultural traditions. Black Americans are forced into the necessity to have dual cultural competencies; yet they are not allowed to actualize fully those competencies in the larger cultural system. Therefore, Valentine concludes it is not enough to see Black culture, or other

ethnic cultures, solely in their own terms, separate from the dominant culture; nor is it enough to see disorganization and pathology where dual cultural competencies have been built up (Ibid.: 32-37). Above all, Valentine urges that anthropologists and Black studies cooperate in examining this bicultural situation of Blacks, looking in particular at "the workings of mainstream Euro-American institutions inside Afro-American communities and to compare these processes with the institutional biculturation of other ethnic groups" (Ibid.: 45). Valentine sees the need also to show the unity and diversity of Black culture rather than the disorganization and pathology portrayed by social pathology, poverty culture, and lower-class culture models.

Cultural pluralism as a viable model therefore would appear to require incorporation of both complementarity and conflict elements as identified by the likes of Kallen and Valentine. The complementary elements are essential preludes to consideration of conflict in anything but a continuous chain of struggle, a la Valentine. The narrow complementarity model ignores the reality of biculturalism, ethnic subordination, and exploitation. A composite pluralism model is capable of posing alternatives and identifying oppositional processes out of which cultural chaos and exploitation might be avoided.

Newman (1973) also finds that the various theories of assimilation, Kallen's cultural pluralism, Moynihan and Glazier, and Gordon tend to emphasize the consensus model of society and to give insufficient attention to conflict. Newman's central argument is that intergroup relations are marked by differential access to and control of social resources, rewards, and power. This results in limitations upon the types and kinds of conflicts which certain groups can initiate in order to change parity or disparity in terms of these variables.

In conclusion, the cultural pluralism model of awareness and action, represents a variable shift from demands for cultural uniformity to a demand for recognition and legitimation of cultural differences. But also in more recent years as an added element to it there has come a demand for not only a toleration of cultural differences but a recognition of cultural groups being in superordinate and subordinate positions. The demand has been one that goes beyond a recognition, understanding, and respect for cultural differences to one that demands the maintenance of differences with a more equal distribution of cultural rewards and resources among various ethnic groups. Here the shift is away from the minority culture's differences to those institutions of the dominant culture which control the access to and control over resources and rewards. Increasingly, ethnic identity and cultural differences have

become transformed into ethnic units as cultural groups seeking a more equitable distribution of rewards and resources in dominant institutions and more control over them in the ethnic community.

Ethnic Relations: Concepts, Processes, and Their  
Differential Structural Implications

Certain concepts, processes, and structural characteristics of ethnic group relations can provide a perspective on Native American programs in higher education. Among these are the following to be examined: acculturation, assimilation, incorporation, and cultural pluralism.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the general term in anthropology which encompasses intercultural relations. Acculturation has been viewed as a situation of first-hand, continuous contact between cultural systems, involving exchanges which result in changes in one or both systems (Linton 1940; Beals 1953; Barnett, et. al. 1972).

Recently, traditional models of acculturation in anthropology have been criticized. Urban anthropologists in Africa, such as Gluckman (1965: 346-360), have stated that acculturation models tend to be unitary or unilinear in depicting change. Persons in such models are pictured as moving from a traditional culture to a new one in a

straight line fashion. Gluckman and his associates propose, however, that native Africans going to the new towns on the Copperbelt (Zambia) are not merely engaged in a process of "detrribalization" as implied in the unilinear model. Rather, Gluckman and his associates see the native African as alternating his status and behavior depending upon whether he is in the urban or rural setting. Similarly, in the city a tribesman alternates his behavior according to the principle of situational selection. Given certain circumstances, "the individual selects behavior patterns appropriate to the sets of relations in which a situation involves him at a given moment" (Mayer 1965: 310). For example, his behavior patterns would be one thing in the work setting, another in an ethnic setting, such as a tribal association in the town. Situational selection and alternation thus could bring forth either urban or tribal cultural patterns. The native African was not caught up in an inexorable process from this viewpoint.

McFee (1968: 1100-1101) in his study of Blackfeet Indian acculturation also found the unilinear model inadequate in explaining the socio-cultural diversity among certain individuals present on the reservation. Administering two scales--one measuring Indian-orientation, the other White-orientation--he found several individuals who were highly bicultural. One type was White-oriented but

had knowledge and competence in the traditional Indian culture. These persons were reared in White-oriented families, had little to do with the Indian-oriented group on the reservation, yet they scored high on the Indian-oriented scale. A second type of bicultural person was Indian-oriented, had been raised in an Indian-oriented family, identified with and participated in the traditional Indian culture, yet scored high on the White-oriented scale given their education in schools of the dominant culture. These persons scored high on both scales. These persons, according to McFee, became "Interpreters" who mediated between the bifurcated reservation community (with its Indian-oriented and White-oriented groups) but also for the Indian-oriented group relative to the dominant culture.

McFee (Ibid.) concluded that these Blackfeet individuals were more than "cultural containers":

If, by one measure, he scores 75% on an Indian scale, we should not expect him to be limited to a 25% measure on another scale. Contemplation of this 'container' metaphor led me to call these bicultural cases the 150% men. The experience of these people shows that there can be cultural loss at the individual level, but the retention of Indian characteristics, rather than their replacement as new ways are learned, depends upon whether or not these are seen to have continuing utility for the individual. The social and cultural milieu of the Blackfeet Reservation provides a use for both if a man wants to be Indian-oriented.

McFee (Ibid.: 1102) proposes a matrix model instead of a unilinear one for viewing individual acculturation.

Possible combinations of the two cultures "in terms of two degrees, high and low" could result in such possibilities as "high in white orientation and low in Indian; low in white and high in Indian; low in both; and high in both." (Lebra 1972: 6). Similarly, Sanday (1972: 4-5) has proposed a matrix model to taxonomically model a culturally plural society with a mainstream cultural unit. Her results are similar to McFee in most respects. Regardless of race, ethnic background, or social class one could fall into four possible categories. Depending upon exposure to and adoption of the requisite socio-cultural standards required for performance, one could be: (1) mainstreamer--those exposed to, accepting of, and performing within the mainstream culture unit only; (2) bicultural--those exposed to, accepting of, and able to perform in the mainstream and some other culture unit; (3) culturally different--those who are peripheral to the mainstream culture and who are competent in a non-mainstream culture unit; and (4) culturally marginal--those who are essentially peripheral to any cultural unit in terms of exposure, acceptance, and competence. Given the fact of intercultural diffusion between subcultural systems, Sanday feels there can be a shift in the characters of differentially articulated groups to the mainstream culture unit.

Lebra (1972:6) has summarized the differences between

the linear and the non-linear models of acculturation as follows:

First, the non-linear model assumes that acculturation generates biculturality, that is the addition of a new culture to the old one, whereas the linear model involves replacement of the old culture by a new one. Second, biculturality in the non-linear model gives freedom of choice or bicultural repertoire in action; whereas the linear model, bound by the idea of replacement, implies the opposite of freedom, namely, conflict. The latter is underscored by dramatic, often destructive action associated with nativistic movements among those undergoing acculturation...Third, the non-linear model stresses that acculturation processes are contingent upon social relationship, roles, audiences...reference groups. The linear model, on the other hand, seems to take for granted the direct and entire embracement of the individual by a culture.

Lebra (Ibid.) does admit that the linear model contains some validity as does McFee (1968: 1101) when it comes to groups. Indeed, this is a major criticism by others (Beals and Hoijer 1971) of those who use the term acculturation relative to individuals. Beals and Hoijer emphasize that acculturation is a group process and involves modifications of sociocultural systems.

Individual states of acculturation, as in the non-linear model and the fact that acculturation is differential in its effects to the point that it results in bicultural, mainstream, and culturally different individuals, adds to our awareness of the range of variety within a micro or macro-cultural unit. From such variety there may be in time, as Sanday suggests, shifts in the cultural

units in contact. In the linear model, there is a recording of progressive transformations in a cultural unit through time.

However, in neither of these models is sufficient attention given to the group level of analysis and the structure of relations between socio-cultural units. There is, then, another level of analysis in acculturation situations: the structural articulation of ethnic groups, their maintenance, relations, and change over time. The non-linear model ignores the persistence of ethnic groups as socio-cultural units and their articulation to other socio-cultural systems, despite the fact that individual members may be variously acculturated to other cultural units.

As Barth (1969: 9-10) has shown, it is not the lack of mobility or the isolation of a cultural group that maintains socio-cultural differences alone, for personnel can cross an ethnic boundary and the boundary can still remain. Barth emphasizes that the key element is categorization by ethnicity which becomes a basis for exclusion or incorporation in the relationships between groups. Important social relationships can exist in certain settings precisely on the basis of ethnic categorization. Thus as Barth (Ibid.: 10) states: "...ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of social interaction and acceptance,

but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations upon which embracing social systems are built." Therefore, it is possible for socio-cultural differences to persist in the face of contact and intercultural relations.

For Barth (Ibid.) there exist ethnic statuses which are ascribed and therefore dichotomize individuals. These ascribed and identified statuses become a categorical boundary recognized by the actors involved and serve as the basis for further organization. Through such categorization a cultural boundary is maintained between groups, persists despite the movement of personnel across the boundary into other systems, and serves as the basis for further organization in the relationships between groups. Cultural differences may change a great deal or not at all; but as long as there exists a dichotomization of persons on the basis of ascribed and identified ethnic statuses (to include the possibility of subscription as well) and hence categories, there will be culturally differentiated groups. The actors involved will tend to emphasize certain cultural "diacritica" or overt signs of ethnicity and certain value orientations for judging the performance of persons in the role (Ibid.: 14). Which cultural features will be displayed or toned down will depend upon the actors. But it is the continuing fact of dichotomization between stranger and friend that provides an "organizational

vessel" for "varying amounts and forms of content" of socio-cultural differences (Ibid.).

Barth, then, emphasizes that it is the ethnic boundary which is critical in analyzing ethnic groups as socio-cultural units more than "the cultural stuff it encloses" (Ibid.: 15). The ethnic boundary of a group influences the social interaction of those playing an ethnic role, those "playing the same game" or forced to play it given the nature of intercultural relations, and this places a limitation on a sharing of values and interaction with others and in other settings. While "ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behavior, i.e., persisting cultural differences," there is also the fact of movement across the boundaries, interaction with other ethnic units and in other cultural systems. Therefore, ethnic identity must also have with it "a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences." These patterns of social arrangement may be due to the actions of ethnic group members or those that are external to the group. Barth concludes that this structuring implies a set of rules which govern stable intercultural relations in acculturation situations"... a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity and a set of prescriptions on social

situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification" (Ibid.: 15-16).

Mayer (1965: 322) emphasizes the maintenance of ethnic categories among the Xhosa, particularly the "Red" or more tradition-oriented tribal members as opposed to the more acculturated "School" Xhosa, in his study of urban migrants in Africa. Mayer emphasizes that the pull of extra-town ties and ethnic organization in the city serve to maintain an ethnic boundary and he calls this effect "incapsulation." Hence, the operation of ethnic organization in the city is a critical factor in ethnic group maintenance. Similarly, Little (1965: 85) has emphasized the functions of voluntary associations in the new urban areas of Africa. These associations function to form an organizational base by which native Africans are articulated to the institutions of the urban setting. As Little (Ibid.: 101) has said: "The voluntary association serves as an adaptive mechanism in relation to these new institutions by facilitating role segmentation. In other words, it helps to adjust the rural migrant to his fresh status as a townsman, as a member of a multi-tribal community..." In particular, voluntary associations which are ethnically-oriented not only articulate the tribal member to the larger urban environment, including other ethnic units,

but they at the same time operate to maintain an ethnic boundary. Little (Ibid.: 87) puts this as follows:

But ethnic unions and other such organizations similarly blend apparently divergent aims and interests. On the one hand, they emphasize tribal duties and obligations; on the other, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook, and they establish new social practices. What is significant about this duality is that by continuing such familiar norms as kinship, the provision of proper burial rites, etc., the associations make the innovations seem less strange. They build for the migrant a cultural bridge and in so doing they convey him from one kind of social universe to another.

A study of American Indians coming to the San Francisco Bay Area by Ablon (1972) shows similar adaptations to those of many native Africans in urban areas. Native Americans come to the city seeking greater economic opportunity given the lack of it on the reservation. Ablon (Ibid.: 712) sees the Indian in the city as "a new urban ethnic group" in process. She found considerable Native American organization in the city to help Indians adapt, contrary to older studies of urbanization emphasizing disorganization. Like Barth, she points to Indian identity as a key factor in interaction patterns and the creation of Indian organizations, particularly "pan-Indian" ones which encompass individuals from many tribal backgrounds (Ibid.):

The fact of self-conscious Indianess appears to determine the choice of Indian relationships--a choice that usually precludes intermingling with non-Indians either in social groups

or on an individual intimate friendship basis. The ever-present psychological and social awareness of Indian identity comprises an important positive factor in the maintenance of the urban pan-Indian activities of Indian social centers, dance groups, churches, and other Indian organizations in the Bay Area.

The coming together of many American Indians from diverse backgrounds results in a great deal of fluidity and difficulty in defining an Indian community. But it is through Native American organizations, ceremonies, and symbols that articulation to the mainstream culture is achieved and Indian identity preserved (Ibid:719).

Kuper (1969: 460) has noted that under such circumstances as the preceding there can be the renewal or creation of ethnic organization and ideology:

The reality of ethnic grouping and the awareness of ethnic identity, and similarly of racial organization and racial consciousness, may arise only in the process of incorporation within this context of the plural society which affects the significance attached to race and ethnicity, the ideological emphases on these identities and their structural implications.

Others have noted the increase in identity and its structural implications in the form of "pan-Indian" activities for persons from various backgrounds given their involvement in the culturally plural milieu of the city. Thus Price (1972: 738) in his study of Indians and their adaptations in Los Angeles comments on this:

As an ethnic group, Indians do have a common history and a shared heritage. But many individual Indians are not fully aware of this

until they leave their reservation, with its narrow concerns, and in the city meet Indians from other parts of the country. An awakened pan-Indianism then often becomes an additional dimension to, and sometimes a substitute for, their tribal affiliations.

Price found that the majority of his informants were "ideologically and emotionally affiliated with pan-Indianism" and he sees it as a continuing feature of Native American adaptation to the city (Ibid.).

Thomas (1972: 739) defines pan-Indianism "as the expression of a new identity and the institutions and symbols which are both an expression of that new identity and a fostering of it. It is the attempt to create a new ethnic group, the American Indian..." He sees that pan-Indianism is particularly strong among Indian college students (Ibid.: 743-744), and that it represents an attempt to create or maintain tribal communities in the face of industrial-urban society (Ibid.: 745-746).

Ablon notes that Indians from the same tribal background in some cases try to interact with one another; and that some, such as the Navaho, try to maintain their own associations (1972: 717). But this tended to be the exception. More and more, a series of symbols, organizations, and activities based upon pan-Indianism in the city seemed to be the basis for interaction by Indians. Ablon thus sees an ethnic group in process in the city for American Indians, an attempt to achieve greater ideological and

organizational efforts to maintain Indianess in the city, while helping in the acculturation process to a new environment. Ablon (Ibid.: 727) concludes:

The existence of a pan-Indian orientation and activities among some Indians appears to be connected with a neo-Indian identity and emerging awareness of the meaning and implications of being Indian in a white city. I suggest that the social and psychological imperatives of Indian identity have led to an enforced mingling of tribes in the city, i.e., if one cannot be surrounded by members of his home community, at the least, it is more comfortable to associate with Indians of other tribes than with whites. Thus I see the need of Indians to be with other Indians as a cohesive force for the development and maintenance of pan-Indianism in the city, in contrast to the views in the literature which emphasize pan-Indianism as a structural defensive mechanism or as a terminal phase in the assimilation process.

Historically, the American Indian has been subject to an acculturation situation and set of processes since the introduction of Euro-American culture to the New World. This has varied from one tribal group to another over time. Nevertheless, an acculturation situation still obtains for American Indians on the reservation and in urban areas when attempts are made to preserve Indian identity and/or create new cultural systems. Native American resistance to forced acculturation, selective acceptance of Euro-American culture, the rejection of an outcome (assimilation) that meant the disappearance of Indian identity and culture, along with the limited efforts to assimilate or accept Indians completely by the dominant

culture--all have had the result of maintaining an acculturation situation (a continuing conjunction of cultural systems).

If acculturation is seen as the Indian side of the contact relationship and assimilation as the other side of the relationship, each involving processes of acceptance or rejection, the outcome has not been full acceptance or acculturation by Indians of white culture, nor has it been full acceptance of Indians by whites into their culture. Acculturation has not led to assimilation in the sense of Indian identity and culture disappearing. It has not been automatic and unilinear. Out of the interrelationships between the two cultures has come a structure of intercultural relations. The acculturation situation still obtains. Adaptive responses by both sides still leave in tact Indian cultural systems, even though modified in the acculturation process. As long as such Indian cultural units exist, there is not full acculturation and full assimilation. There is still an acculturation situation, a system of intercultural relations.

Here our attention is not focused on changes in cultural content between these operant cultural systems, but rather it is focused on the structure of relations that obtains in the continuing acculturation situation. One possible outcome of the acculturation or contact

situation can be assimilation or cultural absorption of the group. In most contact situations this has not happened. Another outcome that is possible is the maintenance of Indian cultural units articulated to the mainstream culture unit. This has happened. The culture contact situation that remains, however has resulted in a distinctive structure of intercultural relations. This is an outcome of cultural pluralism for American Indians and many other ethnic units that continue to exist in relationship to the mainstream culture unit of American society. This continuing acculturation situation with its organization of culturally differentiated groups into a system of relationships becomes the focal point. Acculturation in the sense of changes in specific cultural items in a given culture is not our concern. The concern becomes the state of and modifications in the structure of relations between cultural systems in contact. Acculturation as a general concept has utility when it relates to stating there is a continuing conjunction of cultural systems and when reference is made to the external relationship of a cultural unit in contact with one or several others. In the main, it will refer to an Indian culture unit's relationship to the mainstream culture unit. The distinctive structure of relationships that obtains, given the lack of full assimilation and the continuance of culture contact (an acculturation situation) between ethnic groups, is an

element of cultural pluralism.

### Assimilation

Unilinear acculturation models tend to ignore attitudes on the other side of the relationship (the host culture toward which an acculturating group is moving) and the resultant structure of relations between groups. The nature of acceptance on the other side of the equation by the host culture may result in the maintenance of an acculturative situation despite the fact one group largely accepts the cultural ways of another. Unilinear models portray acculturation as an irreversible process leading to assimilation: that process of acceptance and absorption whereby one group loses its existence as a socio-cultural unit by being absorbed into another cultural unit (Borrie 1959: 88-98).

Milton Gordon has shown that the general process of assimilation is extremely complex. He states that full assimilation for a group has occurred when the following subprocesses have been completed (Gordon 1964: 71): behavioral or cultural changes on the part of the group seeking acceptance which are based exclusively on the host culture's patterns; structural assimilation into the primary groups, clubs, and cliques of the host culture; an absence of prejudice, discrimination, value and power

conflicts between the groups seeking acceptance and the dominant society; large-scale intermarriage; and the development of a sense of peoplehood or identity based on the host culture exclusively. Full assimilation for a cultural group is a complex process with many subprocesses; its implications are the disappearance of a communal base, ethnic sub-cultural system, and sense of racial and/or ethnic identity.

For Gordon, American society is composed of a number of "subsocieties" based upon ethnic identity. These subsocieties provide a socio-cultural means of encapsulating group members in some relationships, while allowing for interaction in other settings. As Gordon says (Ibid.: 37):

The network of organizations, informal social relationships, and institutional activities which make up the ethnic subsociety tends to pre-empt most or all primary group relationships, while secondary relationships across ethnic lines are carried out in the larger society...

Gordon's basic model of the structure of intergroup relationships, then, consists of two parts. First, there is a cultural core or mainstream culture unit which involves public or secondary relationships. Political, economic, and, for the most part, educational systems are the main divisions of the mainstream culture. Structurally articulated to these key systems are persons from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Second, outside of these key systems, ethnic group organization remains

strong, encompassing such primary group relationships as family, recreation, and religion. These primary group relationships are "ethnically closed" and the individual can, if he chooses, spend a great deal of his life and time within the ethnic group's cultural system. The ethnic group can and does provide primary group relationships throughout the life cycle from birth to death.

Gordon states, therefore, that full assimilation has not occurred in American culture. He feels there has been behavioral or cultural conformity by most ethnic groups to a general norm (mainstream culture unit). However, because a group changes its cultural ways to that of the host society (his technical term being acculturation, a narrower useage than in athropology and as used here), this first step in the assimilation process need not result in further assimilation or acceptance. Gordon states that the key variable in further assimilation and the removal of other assimilation barriers rests with structural assimilation. Where there is structural assimilation for a group "all the other types of assimilation will follow" (Ibid.: 81). He concludes (Ibid.): "Structural assimilation, then, rather than acculturation is seen to be the keystone of the arch of assimilation. The price of such assimilation, however, is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its

distinctive values."

### Incorporation

Assimilationist ideologies in American culture have promised full acceptance to all groups. The realities have been limited assimilation. Indeed, while there is much merit in Gordon's work, confusion arises about what individuals and groups are acculturating to and assimilating into. Gordon emphasizes structural assimilation as the key variable. This element is usually defined in terms of primary group relationships. That is, because ethnic groups are essentially closed units, they do not assimilate structurally to other units, and they therefore persist. He does not sufficiently discuss structural assimilation and other assimilation variables relative to the mainstream culture unit. The host society or culture as a referent gets lost in the process. It would appear that a unitary concept like assimilation is really being applied on two levels, although this is never made sufficiently clear. First, acculturation and assimilation for members of an ethnic culture unit are happening relative to the mainstream culture unit. Second, acculturation and assimilation of an ethnic group relates to other ethnic or racial units. This second type of acculturation-assimilation situation seems to receive most of Gordon's

attention. He does not, therefore, sufficiently define the nature of the mainstream culture unit, outside of identifying its main institutional complexes.

Gordon does not identify a cultural minority or majority clearly that dominates these institutions relative to the orbiting ethnic groups on the outside. Nor does he sufficiently describe their articulation to the mainstream culture unit.

Traditionally, American culture, as we have seen, was defined in terms of English cultural patterns and institutions as modified in the New World. The English language, legal, political, and economic practices did dominate from the beginning, even though modified. There was and has been an ill-defined WASP or white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant cultural minority (though larger in numbers than other ethnic groups that have come to America) that established and maintained the core culture of American society through the years. And yet, there has also been the emphasis upon assimilation on an equal status basis for all individuals and groups relative to becoming an American. But to be an American, as noted earlier, has at times meant cultural conformity to an Anglo-Saxon version and interpretation of American culture.

American culture equalling white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture was not, however, fully dominant given the

presence of other ethnic groups and the constant influx of others. This cultural minority, WASP, did put its cultural stamp upon the language, literature, and institutions of the country. And it was able to dominate those institutions within the limits set by an ideology that promised equality of entrance and treatment for all individuals and groups. Through time, however, other groups asserted their positions and demands as they acculturated to and demanded "assimilation" into these key institutions. By and large, the culture core was accepted by new groups and came to take on national overtones. The entrance of other ethnic groups into the political, economic, and educational systems challenged the dominance of these institutions by those from a WASP background. Increasingly, the culture core came to have a number of ethnic groups, not just dominance by one group. And yet, the cultural standards of the WASP cultural minority were generally accepted as the basis for a national culture--but without the WASP minority being the sole power-holders and decision-makers (Handlin 1951; Jones 1960).

America's mainstream culture unit, then, has been an arena of ethnic group competition and conflict (Lubell 1952) through the years. It still is. Through the generations different ethnic groups have acculturated and assimilated to the mainstream culture unit. This has not meant the

absence of ethnic group conflict, however, in the key institutions of the mainstream culture unit. Similarly, it has not meant the end of ethnic groups as socio-cultural units outside of these key institutional complexes.

There is a need for additional concepts to describe the structure of ethnic group relationships which remains viable within the mainstream culture and outside of it. The term assimilation is too unitary when it comes to either level of analysis. Certainly assimilation can occur so that a socio-cultural unit becomes absorbed completely into the mainstream culture and loses its group existence there as well as outside of it. Or, there can be minimal ethnic conflict within the mainstream culture (approximating the concept of assimilation) and non-assimilation of ethnic viability outside it.

To discuss the structural articulation of ethnic groups to the mainstream culture unit the term incorporation will be used. Incorporation will refer to the processes or modes of structural inclusion in the mainstream culture unit. Articulation results in their linking to the mainstream culture unit; incorporation refers to the processes and modes of their inclusion. The term corporateness or corporate group or category will refer to ethnic cultural units and the desire of ethnic group members to identify with, participate in, and maintain the

ethnic group. Corporateness refers to the desire to maintain and/or achieve the ability to act as a unit--in this case, an ethnic unit. Structurally, this results in non-articulation and the desire to maintain ethnic closure to outsiders while achieving or maintaining group unity within. Structurally, there is a pattern of socio-cultural units linked to a mainstream culture unit; these are then incorporated or structurally included. Likewise, there is a structure or pattern of socio-cultural units that are not linked in other areas and which maintain their corporate existence as socio-cultural units. Barth has summarized this general situation (1969: 19) when he says that there will be "sectors of articulation" which "provide areas that can be exploited" by ethnic groups "while the other sectors of activity of other groups are largely irrelevant from the point of view of members of any one group."

Thus ethnic groups in culturally plural societies will be articulated in certain areas and non-articulated in others. Correspondingly, the conditions of incorporation will vary. Structural inclusion may take the form of a universalistic or particularistic mode of incorporation. In the universalistic mode, a structure is marked by the inclusion of individuals on an equal status basis regardless of ethnicity or race. In particularistic

incorporation, there is a mode of incorporation and a structure marked by inclusion on the basis of membership in an ethnic group. Particularistic incorporation may take two forms: "equivalent incorporation, where it is constituted as an order of structurally equivalent but exclusive corporate sections, and differential incorporation, where it is constituted as an order of structurally unequal, exclusive corporate sections" (Kuper 1969: 473; his emphasis). Where equivalent incorporation implies equal status treatment for ethnic groups as structural units in articulated systems, differential incorporation implies domination by one or more groups and the subordination of others. Each of these modes of incorporation establishes a "structure of interethnic accommodation" between various groups as a means of handling the question of ethnic or racial diversity (M.G. Smith 1969: 140). Universalistic and equivalent modes produce structures which attempt to accommodate ethnic or racial differences by eliminating it as a factor in individual mobility or by recognizing equal treatment for individuals on the basis of their ethnic or racial backgrounds. Differential incorporation results in a structure of domination. There can be various combinations of these processes found within a culture or its settings.

Central to the articulation and incorporation of

ethnic units is the fact that these articulated sectors provide opportunities and benefits for group members. When an ethnic group or category has the status of a minority, it may find that there exists little power or opportunity as a group to succeed outside of the dominant cultural system, nor may they be able to assert a group position within these systems if universalistic or differential incorporation obtains. Barth (1969: 31) describes this as follows:

In the total social system, all sectors of activity are organized by statuses open to members of the majority group, while the status system of the minority has only relevance to relations within the minority and only to some sectors of activity, and does not provide a basis for action in other sectors, equally valued in the minority culture. There is thus a disparity between values and organizational facilities: prized goals are outside the field organized by the minority's culture and categories. Though such systems contain several ethnic groups, interaction...does not spring from the complementarity of ethnic identities; it takes place entirely within the framework of the dominant, majority group's statuses and institutions, where identity as a minority member gives him no basis for action. (My emphasis.)

This situation of minority status within a dominant cultural context where dependence, powerlessness, and inability to assert or organize on the basis of ethnicity or race further means the minority will be forced to demonstrate their "contrastive cultural characteristics... in the non-articulating sectors of life. For the minority these sectors constitute a 'backstage' where the

characteristics that are stigmatic in terms of the dominant majority culture can covertly be made the objects of transaction" (Ibid.:32). The implications of this will be examined later relative to American minorities. But it is clear that for Blacks, Indians, and Chicanos the preceding is descriptive of their general situation historically. Yet this response has changed radically in recent years.

Eidheim's (1969) description of the Lappish minority in Norway can illustrate two different minority responses by the Lapps within a culture (Norwegian) based upon universal incorporation and within which it is necessary to participate to gain opportunities. In the first case, there are the Coast Lapp who must hide or eliminate their ethnic identity. Thus Lapps are forced in this situation to act out in the public sphere roles which do not take account of their identity. Eidheim shows this as follows (Ibid.:48):

Most conspicuous among these is the fact that interaction in this sphere takes place within the statuses and institutions of the dominant Norwegian population....Since public presentation of a Lappish identity is not an alternative, it follows that in this sphere there is no institutionalized interaction in which a status 'Lapp' has accepted roles, i.e., Lapp and Norwegian are not complementary statuses.

Eidheim further shows that interaction in the public sphere between Norwegian and Lapp does not mean there is a shared identity (Ibid.:52):

...but we must realize that an inherent

quality of the public sphere is that it gives no scope for Lapps to show behavior which springs from their Lappish identity without great social costs. Such behavior is reserved for closed stages, where the social dangers and defeats that people have been subject to in public encounters are redundantly reviewed and to some extent mended, or at least made temporarily less severe through the sharing of adversities with other Lapps.

Thus the Coastal Lapps give "role support" to the dominant culture's treatment of them. As Eidheim points out (Ibid.:54): "Both parties try to behave as if ethnicity 'does not count'; however, we have the paradoxical situation that it is ethnic status which underlies and delimits the relations in the public network." And, hence, while "institutionalized inter-ethnic relations are not organized with reference to the respective ethnic status directly" they are "nevertheless shaped by them. It is in some sense an analogue to a shadow play" (Ibid.:55; Eidheim's emphasis).

In contrast to the Coast Lapps, the inland Lapps of Finnmark attempt to assert Lappish identity and organization through an emphasis upon cultural pluralism. As Eidheim says of the West Finnmark Lapps (Ibid.:53):

In this area a Lappish identity is not only relevant in inter-ethnic relations in the daily routine of public interpersonal behavior, it is also claimed and made relevant in the more formalized sectors of social life, i.e., on boards and committees on township and higher levels of administration. Furthermore, it is expressed in mass media and in voluntary associations, and it is displayed in a growing cult of Lappish

nativistic idioms like language, dress, folk songs, and cultural history.

And finally, Eidheim makes this important comparison

(Ibid.):

Compared with this general picture of the inland regions, a Lappish identity in the Coast-Lappish area described here has a very limited organizational potential. It is only relevant on closed stages which are established under the protective constraints of limited time and space. Lappish co-activity in the inland regions is a public affair which also allows the maximization and defense of Lappish values; in the coastal area, however, the manipulation of time and space in order to establish closed stages, and what goes on these stages, may rather be understood as techniques to hide, but thereby sustain, a disability (or stigma) which people cannot escape.

These contrasting responses by Lapps in Norway are relevant to the American ethnic relations scene. The desire or necessity to articulate with dominant cultural institutions in order to obtain benefits and resources brings forward another aspect of culturally plural societies, that of equality and inequality, one of stratification based upon differential access to and control over cultural rewards and resources. The relationships between ethnic groups can in part be viewed as a desire to obtain or hold on to power, status, or material rewards (Newman 1973:112). The desire to attain an equal distribution or to maintain an unequal distribution of such cultural resources may lead to the stratification of ethnic groups or attempts to overcome the maldistribution of cultural rewards or resources.

Most European-derived ethnic groups have achieved equal status incorporation into the key articulating systems of the mainstream culture unit in American society. They have the political, economic, and educational resources (not without struggle and a continuing assertion of group interests) for exercising choice relative to further assimilation or continuing to maintain some measure of ethnic identity, subcultural, and communal existence. Many have not chosen to pursue further assimilation, but they instead maintain their ethnic group all the while asserting its interests in the mainstream culture. These ethnic groups are no longer minorities in the sense of powerlessness, dependence, and the inability to organize on an ethnic group basis inside and outside the mainstream culture unit. In one sense, then, they are the "majority" culture or dominant culture relative to other more visible minorities, all the while recognizing the cultural diversity or pluralism that exists within them. These Euro-American cultural groups essentially dominate the mainstream culture unit with its political, economic, and educational systems. They are highly acculturated to the modified WASP cultural base of the nation, and they have been sufficiently incorporated within the mainstream culture unit to disperse power and resources which were once controlled by a WASP cultural minority.

Today's visible minorities -- e.g., Blacks, Indians, and Chicanos -- are still fighting for incorporation on a universalistic basis ("integration" as popular parlance has it) that American ideology holds forth but which has not been practiced relative to these groups. Their battle is not one of full assimilation; it is one of incorporation. Contemporary minorities recognize that the assimilationist model does not fit American culture as it is presently constituted. They recognize that for other ethnic groups there exists equal status incorporation in certain key systems and the maintenance of corporate ethnic units outside of them. There is the recognition by these minorities that other ethnic groups are exercising socio-cultural choice, and their ability to do so is directly related to their favorable political, economic, and educational positions in the mainstream culture. Contemporary minorities recognize that their general group position in American culture is explainable in terms of racism and ethnocentrism on a general basis in American society, particularly their operation in the mainstream culture unit to which they are articulated but incorporated in on a differential basis. Therefore, they will articulate and seek incorporation on an equal status basis with other groups in order to obtain with other groups their share of the cultural rewards and resources of the mainstream culture unit; and at the same

time use these same cultural resources in order to maintain, sustain, and improve their own cultural unit or group.

That this general line of analysis appears to be a major thrust of contemporary minorities can be seen in the writings of Harold Cruse (1967). He asserts that American society is extremely pluralistic, and it is a society whose cultural identity is as much in question as that of the Black American. Cruse says (Ibid.:13): "Thus, the problem of Negro cultural identity is an unsolved problem within the context of an American nation that is still in the process of formation." Cruse asserts the need for the Black intellectual, and Black people, to recognize their ethnicity and their condition as one of an ethnic group in process. Cruse is against integration if it means assimilation which destroys the Black community. He concludes with an important statement about the tasks of the intellectual and Black people as follows (Ibid.:14): "Thus it is only through a cultural analysis of the Negro approach to group 'politics' that the errors, weaknesses, and goal-failures can cogently be analyzed and positively worked out." (Cruse's emphasis.)

For Cruse, there is the necessity for the Black intellectual to assess the pluralistic nature of American culture, and the concomitant need for Blacks to define themselves in cultural terms and their position in society.

The central thrust of his work, and others (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967), is to assert the nature of Blacks as a cultural or ethnic group in a highly pluralistic society, recognizing the need for culture-building within and at the same time seeking to control the nature of relationships with dominant groups. Cruse rejects the idea that cultural differences alone account for the position of Blacks in American society, calling attention to the structure of group relations. Nonetheless, Black culture, whatever its content, becomes a force for political and economic advancement and group survival. The intellectual's task is to give force and shape to this weapon. Black culture is the ethnic group in process; cultural unity becomes a political weapon in the process of group survival in a shifting, loosely organized, but predatory nation of competing ethnic groups.

Vine Deloria (1969:174), a Native American writer and intellectual, also rejects the idea that the basic problem between Indians and whites has been one of cultural misunderstanding and cultural differences: "For Indians to continue to think of their basic conflict with the white man as cultural is the height of folly. The problem is and always has been the adjustment of the legal relationship between the Indian tribes and the federal government, between the true owners of the land and the usurpers." As

Deloria sees it (1970:134), the Indians' relationship to Euro-Americans has not only been one of the theft of the Indians' cultural resources but also "pure naked and arbitrary...force to make a group surrender its beliefs so as to conform to another cultural interpretation of the world." Deloria further states that American culture is becoming increasingly pluralistic; that a culture based upon individualism is faced with a renewed resurgence of group sovereignty. This new "tribalism" is affecting many ethnic groups in American society. Deloria observes (Ibid.:179): "Hence the absurdity of studies on how to bring Indians into the mainstream when the mainstream is coming to the tribe." Deloria concludes that there is more proclaiming of "group rights" and a corresponding need for social institutions to respond to this trend.

Thus, while today's minorities seek greater equality of treatment in the key incorporative systems, they do so from the premise of group action and group results. That is, universalistic incorporation which emphasizes individual equal status and reward is replaced with a demand for recognizing a corporate group's needs and aspirations. This new ethnicity, as Deloria and Cruse assert, is directed toward ethnic group unity in order to obtain in the key incorporative systems equal results to those that other groups have obtained. In order to achieve these group

benefits, there is a demand by some that in those structures which are supposedly premised upon equal status treatment and reward for individuals, that this status be accorded groups. Ethnic identity and status should be recognized in these systems. No longer willing to play the role and hide his ethnic identity or confine it to "back stages" as the Coast Lapp do, there is instead like the inland Lapps an assertion of group unity and culture which will be used to more effectively articulate and incorporate group members. There arises a demand, then, for some form of equivalent incorporation rather than universalistic incorporation. The implication is that key systems of the mainstream culture unit will have to change their present incorporation practices and the structure of inter-ethnic accommodation based upon it. There will have to be opportunities, from this viewpoint, for an ethnic group organization and influence in these key systems.

The new ethnicity stems, then, from a demand for a different basis of incorporation relative to the mainstream culture unit. Second, it involves a process of corporateness, a "getting it together" as an ethnic unit, moving from a corporate category with weak internal organization to one of corporate group with strong ethnic organization and the ability to act as a socio-cultural unit. The end result being greater cultural benefits and resources in the

mainstream culture unit, and at the same time it implies the ability to maintain and act as a corporate entity in the form of the ethnic group.

### Implications for Cultural Pluralism

Acculturation does not necessarily lead to group assimilation as posited by the unilinear model. Gordon has shown that full assimilation with its many subprocesses, particularly the lack of structural assimilation in American society, has resulted in a mainstream culture unit and the maintenance of ethnic groups outside of it. This condition constitutes "a system of relationships between culturally differentiated groups" (Despres 1969:17) or one of cultural pluralism. As an outcome of the failure of full acculturation and assimilation for many ethnic groups -- where they are structurally articulated to and incorporated into the mainstream culture but non-articulated and relatively closed corporate groups relative to other ethnic groups -- cultural pluralism has become a condition widely recognized in contemporary cultures. There have been three different views of cultural pluralism that can be examined.

First, there is the view of Wallace (1970), who discusses two different views in the area of culture and personality. One view he calls the "replication of uniformity." This view of man and culture states that in

essence each individual and generation through the socialization process becomes "a replica of its predecessors" (Ibid.:23). Wallace finds this to be a conservative bias and that it assumes "a society will fall apart and its members scatter if they are not threaded like beads on a string of common motives" (Ibid.:25). Wallace examines another tradition which he calls the "organization of diversity." Wallace says that the central problem a culture faces is how to organize the obvious diversity that exists in it. He denies that individual goals or cognitions must be uniform or shared in order for cultural systems to operate -- the view which is central to the "replication of uniformity" conceptualization of enculturation or cultural transmission. Through the operation of partial equivalence structures, it is possible for socio-cultural organization to emerge. Wallace states this as follows (Ibid.:35):

By this is implied the recognition -- as the result of learning -- that the behavior of other people under various circumstances is predictable, irrespective of knowledge of their motivation, and thus is capable of being predictably related to one's own actions. Evidently, groups, as well as individuals, can integrate their behaviors into reliable systems by means of equivalence structures, without extensive motivational or cognitive sharing.

Thus Wallace sees culture as a "set of standardized models" of contractual relationships wherein there exist equivalent roles provided for the parties to a transaction. The relationship between the parties "is based not on a sharing but

on a complementarity of cognitions and motives" (Ibid.:36; my emphasis).

By complementarity, it is possible for individuals and groups who are different to organize themselves. Hence, there can be an "organization of diversity" without dependence upon uniform goals or motives. C.L. Smith (1972) has emphasized how cultural systems operate on this principle. He concludes (Ibid.:30):

The complementarity point of view emphasizes that the cultural behavior observed is not just those learned shared actions and blueprints for behavior that must be imputed to each member of a cultural system to explain the operation of the system. Obviously, for a cultural system to operate, sharing of certain procedures and actions must definitely exist. Would the elaboration of all those items shared by the members of a cultural system provide a complete description of all the behavior that is cultural? The answer is no.

Smith further emphasizes that a great deal of the behavior in cultural systems is of the complementary type ("people having different actions and attitudes leading to mutually acceptable ends or to a balance between competing extremes") when compared with shared behavior and attitudes. Wallace reinforces this point about how culturally plural societies can be organized despite differences when he states (Ibid.:162):

The notion that heterogenous cultures, split into incongruous fragments, must inevitably produce conflict-ridden personalities, is a corollary of the common-motive thesis, which defines integration as a function of homogeneity.

From the organization-of-diversity standpoint, however, culture change is not necessarily traumatic; indeed it is to be regarded as the natural condition of man. If we regard 'living' cultures as heterogenous (and all modern nations are culturally plural to an extreme degree) and in constant, relatively rapid change...we note first that heterogeneity and change by definition no longer imply psychological and cultural disorganization. The causes of disorganization must be sought elsewhere. The fundamental problem again becomes the organization of diversity rather than the replication of uniformity.

The principle of complementarity as one viewpoint in describing the relationships between groups can be considered along with two others. Newman (1973:99) poses these in terms of the following question:

Are the complex societies of the twentieth century best understood in terms of a tendency toward consensus of social values, an inherent stability and order of social institutions, and a gradual integration of social groups; or are these societies more appropriately comprehended in terms of group conflicts, divergence, and social change?

These two models of societies with substantial group difference have been called the "consensus" or "equilibrium" and "conflict" models. Kuper (1969:10) has described the equilibrium or consensus model as "one of political pluralism, with corresponding social pluralism in which units are bound together by cross-cutting loyalties and by common values or a competitive balance of power." The consensus model of this type is usually associated with liberal democracy. There are independent intermediate associations and organizations which promote and assert a

number of diverse interests, out of which is derived a power balance. Given functional relations between institutions, common values, groups which are independent and often composed of members with many affiliations, conflict is seen as limited and within the system (Kornhauser 1960). Ethnic groups would have members tied into common institutions, many organizations, and be subject to common values. Ethnic groups would act as interest groups in the mainstream cultural system's institutions (Glazier and Moynihan 1963). Kuper (1969:10) notes that this model is often used to describe the United States. And yet, there are relationships which do not fit this consensus model, such as Black and white, one heavily based upon the acculturation and incorporation experiences of the European immigrants. The experiences of other ethnic groups would seem to fit another model of pluralism, that of conflict (Ibid.).

The conflict model of pluralism was first analyzed by Furnivall (1948). His model was one of colonial domination imposed upon culturally diverse people. His observations in Malaya found ethnic groups as members of a political unit imposed by the colonial power and tied together by economic forces. But each group maintained its own culture and there were sharp social cleavages between the cultural sections. Integration within the plural society (the generic term used by proponents of societies which fit the

conflict model) is coerced by the colonial power and economic circumstances; value integration is lacking between the cultural sections. The society is marked by the absence of a common will, a lack of consensus. The plural society, from this viewpoint, is always threatened with disintegration through uncontrolled conflict.

M.G. Smith (1960) has elaborated upon Furnivall's work. In his conflict model of the plural society, he sees a society dominated by one of the cultural sections, usually a minority. This cultural minority dominates the political structure and may have available and control a complex technology. Cultural pluralism itself is seen as the determining factor leading toward dominant-subordinate relationships and inequality of status and reward. (In a later formulation, Smith (1969:415-458) places a greater emphasis upon the role of differential incorporation of groups, but these groups are still marked by cultural differentiation). This factor influences the whole structure of relations. In order to hold the society together, one group must dominate. This is a structural imperative, since there is a lack of common values. Hence, a culturally plural society of the conflict model is held together by force or regulation, not functional integration of a common set of core institutions, along with value integration given the absence of cultural differences (homogeneity) or minimal cultural

variety (heterogeneity). For Smith, societies with minimal cultural differences do not have this structural imperative; in societies with wide cultural differences it is necessary.

In contrast to the consensus model of pluralism, with its emphasis upon independent and intermediate associations which promote power dispersion and diverse interests which promote competition between interest groups, such independent organization is a threat to the very basis of the plural society in the conflict model. Dominant sections will attempt to control subordinate organizations. As Kuper (1969:17) says:

In the case of subordinate cultural sections, there is likely to be extensive limitation of the autonomy of institutions and the independence of intermediate organizations. The very right to organize may be carefully restricted, since organizational capacity is an important resource in the struggle for power between cultural sections. The dominant group may promote, within a subordinate section, organizations that diversify interest and fragment solidarity...and it may establish, as instruments of domination and segregation, special organizational structures within the subordinate group. In the context of cultural pluralism and domination, intermediate organizations are often the targets and the instruments of a conflict that threatens the stability and continuity of the society.  
(My emphasis.)

Thus dominant groups may attempt to control organizations, curb their independence; or where there exist independent organizations within the subordinate cultural sections,

they may use that capacity to attack the structure of domination (Ibid.:18).

The contrast between two antithetical models, in particular attempts to portray the plural society of the conflict model as a unique type, ignores several facts. Empirically, there are degrees of cultural pluralism in societies. As Wallace has pointed out, there is the possibility of complementarity in a wide range of areas despite differences among individuals and groups. For example, in South Africa, often cited as a classic example of the plural society of the conflict model, Gluckman (1969:379) recognizes the complementarity principle as operating in social relations despite the absence of consensus and the presence of conflicts: "And these social relationships in parts of the total South African state were called into being by a series of variable situations in which personages were mobilized by different goals and values out of a medley of consistent, inconsistent and discrepant, and even contradictory, goals and values." All cultural differences need not be as incompatible as M.G. Smith implies; there may be areas of consensus or complementarity. As Barth (1969:33) has noted, which cultural features of a group that may be displayed by actors will vary, depending upon the innovative character of ethnic leadership as it attempts to assert its group's position. Thus changes in the structure of

relations between different ethnic groups may determine the significance which cultural differences come to have; e.g., the various cultural renaissances and power movements by Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians within the United States and corresponding reactions among white ethnic groups. Societies also vary in their ideologies regarding the tolerance of cultural differences. Hence, cultural pluralism may just as easily be seen as a consequence of political domination as well as a cause (Kuper 1969:16).

Kuper suggests that the use of antithetical models of the consensual and conflict type may blur the operation of similar processes and social events in culturally plural societies. He concludes that there may be differences of degree rather than qualitative differences as implied by these models, so that "cultural pluralism is congruent with political pluralism, equilibrium, consensus, and integration, as well as with sectional domination, conflict, dissensus, and regulation" (Ibid.:19-20).

Thus the system of relationships between culturally differentiated groups may have the general attributes of consensus, complementarity, and conflict as groups seek cultural benefits and resources in their relationships with one another.

### Ethnic Relations and Native American Programs

Ethnic and race relations change in America during the 1960's saw minorities demanding greater access to and benefits from the mainstream culture's political and economic institutions. Higher education units, too, were forced to respond with more minority student recruitment, special programs for the educationally disadvantaged, and generally be more willing to consider minority student demands on campus. From the ferment associated with this accommodation there was a substantial increase of cultural pluralism in higher education.

However, such pluralism increased problems. Some university educators saw minority students in traditional academic terms; they were to enter, succeed, and move through the educational system the same as everyone else. Concern was expressed about maintaining academic standards. Others granted the need to maintain standards; but they also emphasized the need to help such students gain neglected academic skills, have means of retaining their ethnic identity and cultural values, and that the academic community become more sensitive to cultural differences among its students.

Ethnic students viewed, in many cases, the university with the same suspicion as they perceived other mainstream institutions where prejudice and discrimination had operated against them. Ethnic students demanded more recruitment of

minority students, financial resources to sustain them, programs to assist them with academic skills, courses reflecting different ethnic cultures in American society, means by which minority students could retain in the university environment their identity and culture, and that the university be more culturally sensitive and considerate in its operations.

Initial ethnic organization on campus was usually a voluntary association of similar ethnic students. This organization functioned to help ethnic students cope with the university system and provided a means of identifying and participating with fellow ethnic students. Many eventually became student unions and secured a financial base through student activities fees. Increasing concern with ethnic students in higher education saw these ethnic associations turned to for assistance by university administrators. Federal government concern with the poor and minorities made more funds available to help minority students in higher education. Special service funds to help with academic problems of minority students and financial aids were readily available for universities which were imaginative and willing to submit proposals. Various types of educational opportunity and special programs were established. Ethnic student associations on campus demanded such programs and a voice in their management. Increasingly,

ethnic associations and programs containing particular groups or several groups became a part of the university scene and system. At the same time, these different ethnic units -- associations or programs -- became interest groups asserting their demands on the university relative to their own particular group and/or through a united "minorities" approach.

What had emerged on higher education campuses was in microcosm ethnic relations reflective of the larger society. This can be examined by looking at Native American students.

Native Americans as a group in higher education settings find themselves in an acculturation situation: a first hand, continuous contact relationship with other cultural units. A Native American socio-cultural unit, whether a program or voluntary association, becomes a part of a structure of relations involving culturally differentiated groups and a mainstream culture unit, that of the university. The general system of relationships represents a culturally plural society on campus for Indian students and other ethnic groups. This organization of relationships between cultural units in contact results in the articulation of Native American program members to the university system or mainstream culture unit for purposes of learning and gaining competence there; but at the same time the program is non-articulated to the university and other units

within the university setting for reasons of maintaining ethnic group unity, identity and values. Thus there is a pattern of socio-cultural units or structural pattern that ties together Native American programs and other ethnic units to the university system; at the same time, there is a pattern of units, or structure, where the Native American program and other ethnic units do not relate to one another in order to form a larger socio-cultural unit but instead attempt to maintain their own corporate group relative to the mainstream culture unit and other ethnic units. Native Americans are articulated through the program to the rest of the university system, but at the same time they are able to maintain a Native American socio-cultural system on campus.

Native American programs become a means of corporate group unity that allow Native Americans as a group to achieve benefits in the mainstream culture unit while at the same time remaining Indians. The program provides means and assistance in learning status-roles, such as student, in the mainstream unit. But the program also emphasizes the ethnic role of being Indian. Thus Indian students have a definite status-role in their own culture unit on campus given its existence. However, the Native American program also asserts that the ethnic status and role will be given important consideration in the mainstream culture unit.

Unlike the Coast Lapp who hide their identity and have no status-role that recognizes it in the mainstream culture of Norway, Native Americans in higher education where programs exist assert that a person is more than a student; he or she is an Indian student. This fact should be considered in a number of areas and in interactions within the university. Native Americans are not just Indians in their own socio-cultural system. This status has relevance in those articulated relationships which Native Americans as a group have with other units.

Native Americans try to maintain a sense of unity, to be corporate, within the context of relationships in which they find themselves. An emphasis upon the unity of the group as a socio-cultural unit is given paramount consideration. There is an attempt to maintain, use, and develop a group base to promote the ends of the ethnic group. Through group unity, it becomes possible to maintain Indian values and identity on the one hand; on the other, it becomes possible to gain for the group its share of the cultural benefits, rewards, and resources that the mainstream culture unit offers. Thus group benefits extend to the external set of relationships and to internal ones.

Where a Native American program exists it structurally articulates the Indian group to the mainstream culture unit through some type of formal structure of interethnic

accommodation. This organization is designed to deal with those who are labeled culturally different, economically disadvantaged, and the like; but it is usually heavily dominated numerically by minority students more than persons from the majority culture. This formal structure of inter-ethnic accommodation becomes the dominant culture's means of articulating the various ethnic or racial groups which enter into it.

The type of structure of interethnic accommodation that emerges will be dependent upon the mode of incorporation or structural inclusion. One mode of incorporation is universalistic or uniform. This is where individuals are incorporated on an equal status basis regardless of ethnic or racial background. Another mode of incorporation is equivalent. Here an ethnic or racial group is structurally equivalent or equal to other units within a system. The ethnic or racial unit is recognized for the purpose of articulating and including members into the system. This system represents a consociation of structurally equal socio-cultural units. A third mode of incorporation is differential. Here members of a particular racial or ethnic group are included in a system as structurally unequal units. Such a system implies that dominant-subordinate relationships obtain. There may be any combination of these modes of incorporation within a university setting

relative to ethnic or racial groups.

A Native American program can be seen as having two broad categories of functions (i.e., relationships between socio-cultural units). Analytically, these two categories would be acculturational and enculturational.

Acculturational functions establish an external set of integrative relationships, the consequences of which allow a Native American program to be adaptive in the university environment and achieve its goals. Acculturational functions can be considered from two perspectives: that of services and that of administration. A Native American program provides a wide variety of services to its students. Academic advising, counseling, help with study skills, tutoring, and the like are services which help the Indian student adapt to the college environment. This learning about how to operate in another culture unit -- the university -- is performing an acculturational function. The program relates its students to the external system where its members must operate in varying ways, keeps them engaged with the educational process there, and helps them to learn how to cope and succeed within this external system. But also involved in the external set of relations are questions of power and control. Relationships between the program as a system and the university as a system on this question involve the administrative component of the

program. Those in administrative roles within the program are expected to be responsive to the internal system or program members. Such individuals are a point of articulation for the program relative to other units. They are quite often bi-cultural persons who have had extensive experience in both cultural systems. They are comparable to those McFee calls "Interpreters" in that they mediate between socio-cultural units -- Indian and non-Indian. Such a person is expected to be Indian-oriented, not just oriented toward the administration or other elements of the mainstream culture unit. The Indian club on campus may also have influence on the acculturational or set of integrative relationships of the program in the external system when it comes to administration of the program. Traditionally, Native American socio-cultural units have sought to control their external relationships with the dominant cultural units. This often takes the form of demands for self-determination today relative to the dominant culture. The ability to have some say over the nature of the program's relationships with other units in the external system looms large on many campuses involving Native American programs, as it does in the case studies covered here.

A second set of adaptive functions of a Native American program can be termed enculturational. Enculturation has traditionally been defined in anthropology as the process

by which one learns his own culture (Herskovits 1948:43). As viewed here, it is the process of learning and reinforcing Indian values and identity through a Native American program (or Native American student union). Enculturation-al functions establish disintegrative sets of relationships relative to the external system of the program but integrative relative to the internal system of program. They consist of all those relationships which build group cohesiveness and identity for Native Americans as a group on a university campus. These functions contribute to the maintenance of the program as a corporate ethnic unit. These relations thus have the consequence of encouraging the corporateness of Native Americans, not their articulation and incorporation in larger socio-cultural units.

Native Americans enter into the institutions of the dominant culture, as do other minorities, in order to obtain benefits. As a group on campus, they seek to obtain cultural resources to further group aims, and they seek to promote group values. But in order to gain these cultural resources, and thus the means by which group values may be structurally attained or maintained, they must enter into a general system of culturally differentiated groups organized around a mainstream culture unit in the form of the university. Native American programs, therefore, relate to a dominant culture unit and other ethnic units in a

culturally plural structure of relationships. In this culturally plural system, Native Americans must compete with other ethnic units for the cultural resources they need. And they must relate, above all, to the university as a central culture unit controlling these resources. By becoming incorporated into a formal structure of inter-ethnic accommodation, and assuming acculturational and enculturational functions within it, Native American program relationships to the university and other ethnic units in the system may be consensual, complementary, or conflictive in nature. These general attributes of Native American program relationships within culturally plural structures on campus obtain as they and other units in the system pursue their own particular interests. These interests need not be the same but may result in a complementary relationship between units (e.g., Native American to university or Native American to other ethnic units versus the university) such as bringing more students to campus. Or they may be the same or conflictive. With considerable conflict, there may be substantial changes in the structure of relations between Native Americans and other units in the culturally plural system.

As a consequence of the interplay of acculturational functions and enculturational functions, Native American programs may achieve a degree of balance in the college

environment that allows for obtaining group benefits and resources in the mainstream culture while at the same time maintaining group identity, values, and structure in the form of a corporate unit. Thus, a condition of cultural pluralism obtains. Despite the maintenance of an ethnic boundary, however, Native Americans as individuals do move across the boundary into the university system, and they do interact with other ethnic group members. As Sanday has indicated, individuals may in a society with a mainstream culture unit become mainstreamers, bicultural, or culturally different. Certainly Native American program functions interact to counteract assimilation tendencies toward mainstreamism and withdrawal into the Indian world on campus in terms of cultural difference (low exposure, low acceptance, and low competence in mainstream culture unit; high competence, acceptance, and performance in Indian culture unit). Yet the acculturational and enculturational interplay of functions does seem to promote the learning of dual cultural roles. Thus Native American students as individuals do alternate between two cultural systems on campus. As individuals, they are in a bicultural situation. And the fact that viable Native American programs do seem to promote biculturation or the simultaneous learning of two cultures and cultural pluralism given their acculturational and enculturational functions has important

implications for higher education, which will be explored in a concluding set of considerations regarding Native American programs in higher education.

#### A Socio-Cultural Model For Viewing Indian Higher Education

There is, thus, a need to conceptualize in socio-cultural terms the presence of Native Americans in higher education and the structure and functions of Native American programs. The following discussion and model provides one such perspective.

Applied anthropologists have studied many programs involving directed culture change. Such programs have common elements. First, there is a "directed" system or target group on whom a program is focused in order to change its behavior and attitudes. Second, there is a "directing" system in the form of an innovating organization which is staffed, financed, and goal-oriented toward bringing about certain changes in a target group. And third, there is an interaction setting which is a point of contact between the target group and the innovating organization, wherein change processes in one or both systems take place (Foster 1969:71).

Higher education institutions have directed change programs toward disadvantaged and minority students which are characterized by these elements. Such institutions have

established innovative organizations or bureaucracies with staff, resources, functions, and goals to provide supportive services for Indians and other disadvantaged and minority students. The purposes of these innovative organizations is to change behavior, skills, and attitudes of Indians and others in order to help them adapt to the college environment. Native Americans become a directed system or target group who are the objects of the given directed change program. The interaction setting or point of contact is the higher education environment. The directed culture change program model is basically one form of the acculturation model with its emphasis upon contact between cultural systems and the resultant changes which take place within one or the other. The directed acculturation change model views one system as having the power to direct changes in the other. Acculturation studies in this mode have tended to focus on how the dominant system shapes the subordinate one and particularly the culture changes which occur in the latter. Often ignored in acculturation studies of this type are (1) the nature of the dominant system and the variable policies pursued; (2) the nature of the so-called "directed" system and its capacities for resisting change or the fact that there can be a selective acceptance of change; and (3) the resultant structure of relationships which thereby obtains. In brief, there has been

insufficient consideration of the organizational dimension of acculturation situations.

Similarly, to view directed culture change programs as simply one system directing another, while ignoring the intentions or capacities of either system and the consequent structure of relations between them, results in a one-sided and simplistic picture of highly dynamic systems in contact, each influencing the other.

In American higher education Native Americans are an ethnic group in contact with a dominant cultural institution (the university) and other ethnic groups. The elements of an acculturation situation and directed culture change program are present: there is a directing system, a target group (Indians), and a given interaction setting. The matter for description and investigation is how these elements have been organizationally configured for Indians in two different settings. This leads to the recognition that directed culture change programs for ethnic students in relationship to the university result in an organization of cultural diversity, an interethnic structure of accommodation based upon various modes of incorporation.

Three types of interethnic structures of accommodation may be identified. First, a universalistic structure based upon a universalistic mode of incorporation. Here

individuals are incorporated into the university system as individuals on an equal status basis regardless of ethnic or racial background. If an innovative organization is set up to help disadvantaged and minority students, there is the provision of equal services to all as individuals and the absence of corporate group expression in the programs for particular ethnic students. A second mode of incorporation and consequent structure is equivalent. An ethnic or racial group is structurally equal to other ethnic units within a system. Ethnically-based programs exist, are structurally equal to others in the system, and serve as a means of including ethnic group members into the system and articulating them to other units in the university system. Such a system is decentralized and allows ethnically-based programs a great deal of autonomy, even as part of an overall interethnic structure. And a third mode of incorporation and resultant structure is differential. In this case, members of a particular racial or ethnic group are included in a system as structurally unequal units. Such a system involves structured inequality wherein dominant-subordinate relationships obtain and there is differential access to and obtaining of resources and benefits from the system by an ethnic or racial group. Dominant groups may set up subordinate groups in positions of dominance within structures. Thus a university may set up a structure which

allows for its dominance by a particular ethnic or racial group compared to others. While these are ideal types, there exists the possibility for numerous combinations of the incorporative modes and resultant structures of accommodation. These structures represent different forms of organizing cultural diversity. They constitute variable culturally plural systems of ethnic units and a mainstream culture unit in the form of the university.

Where a Native American program structure exists relative to an overall interethnic structure of accommodation, there can be identified two broad classes of adaptive functions. One is acculturational: those which allow Indians as a group to gain competence and success in the university system through the program's service components and through its administrative components to control relationships with external systems in the university. A Native American program structure can also have enculturational functions, the consequences of which maintain Indian group interaction, identity, and values. In the absence of fully developed or definable Native American program structure, i.e., within universalistic structures of interethnic accommodation, these functions may be performed in varying degrees by the central structure. But the overwhelming emphasis will tend to be upon the acculturational function in terms of services for individuals. Ethnic staff may be present to

provide some sense of identity. Yet the major focus is on acculturation to the institution.

Native Americans as individuals and as a group in university settings attempt to achieve or maintain a sense of group unity or corporateness. Native American programs contribute toward this end. While such programs articulate Indians to the mainstream culture unit, they also provide a structural means for being non-articulated relative to other units. Through enculturational functions they provide a primary group set of relationships revolving around Indian interaction, identification, and values.

Native Americans as individuals and as a group enter dominant cultural institutions, such as those of higher education, in order to obtain individual and group benefits. In the university setting, as an ethnic unit or group, they seek cultural resources which will enable them as a group to obtain higher education, yet at the same time maintain an Indian socio-cultural unit on campus. The quest for cultural resources and the putting forth of Native American group interests takes place within the culturally plural system organized by the university. Native Americans must seek resources, power, and prestige relative to the university and other ethnic units. In the assertion of an Indian group viewpoint, relationships with other ethnic units and the university may be complementary (where

different values and actions of units leads to mutually acceptable ends or a balance of different extremes), consensus (shared values and actions), or conflicts between groups. These attributes of Native American program relationships flow from the assertion of an ethnic group viewpoint.

Given the interplay of acculturational and enculturational functions of a Native American program, there is revealed a bicultural situation for individual Indian students; and given the interplay of these functions, there is revealed a polycultural situation for Native Americans as a group. An Indian program structure oriented towards Indian and non-Indian cultural systems helps prepare and gain competence for Indian students in dual cultural roles. And given the Indian program structure, there is the articulation Indians as a group to the university but at the same time the maintenance of an Indian socio-cultural units as a part of a culturally plural system. Thus through the program Indians can selectively acculturate to the university but still maintain an ethnic unit.

These points can be summarized in the following form so far as a model is concerned:

1. Acculturation. University settings are a contact situation between the dominant culture and Indians as an ethnic group. The organizational dimension of this acculturation situation is (a) incorporation and articulation of Indians to the university

and (b) corporateness, wherein Indians seek to create or maintain an ethnic group within this contact situation.

2. Modes of Incorporation and Interethnic Structures of Accommodation. Incorporation modes and resultant structures of interethnic accommodation within university settings for Native Americans are of three general types: (a) universalistic, (b) equivalent, (c) differential. In any given university setting there may be a predominance of any one of these types or a combination of them.
3. Adaptive Functionality. Native American programs have adaptive functions within a university setting which are of two basic types, the types being assessed on the basis of the relationship's consequences: (a) acculturational and (b) enculturational.
4. Attributes of Relationships. Native Americans seek as a corporate group cultural resources, power, and prestige in the assertion of their group interests within university settings. Relationships between Native Americans, other ethnic groups, or the university, may have the attributes of (a) complementarity, (b) consensus, or (c) conflict when it comes to the pursuit of group interests.
5. Biculturalism and Cultural Pluralism. The interplay of the two major functions of Native American program structures result within university settings in two general situations: (a) bicultural for individuals and (b) culturally plural for the group.

In the case studies presented in Section II and Section III, Native American programs will be examined in terms of these considerations.

SECTION II

A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

CHAPTER IV  
THE NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM CRISIS AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

In the fall of 1972 Native American students and leaders at the University of Oregon terminated their own special services program. This unprecedented action led to a crisis of major proportions.

Columbus Day, 1972

The Native American Program (NAP) at the University of Oregon was one of the five ongoing disadvantaged student programs. The Office of Supportive Services (OSS) was a central coordinative unit for the five programs.

On August 16, 1972, an Associate Dean in Student Administrative Services was appointed as the new director of the OSS to replace the former director who had been fired earlier in the summer. The new Associate Dean and director of the OSS attempted to assert greater administrative control over and correlatively demanded greater accountability by the five programs in OSS than had occurred in the past. This resulted in several clashes between the new Associate Dean and the five program directors throughout September of 1972.

The immediate flashpoint for Native Americans in the

growing tensions between the five programs and the OSS came on the question of appointing a new director for the NAP. Since the summer of 1972, the post had been vacant. There was an acting director, but he did not want the job. The first directive from the new Associate Dean had been sent in early September concerning the need to appoint a new director. Native American Program leaders felt that the new Associate Dean was trying to dictate at that time the nature of NAP leadership; they had seriously considered abolishing the program. Native Americans ignored this first directive.

The second directive came down in late September. The letter in late September from the new Associate Dean was of such a nature that the Indian students and leaders viewed it as an ultimatum which removed from them the right to select their own leadership, something which they had always done prior to their relationship with the University's OSS and during the regime of its former director. But to the Native Americans, the tone and content of the letter from the new director of the OSS were to the effect that they might nominate three people; however, the final decision among the three would be made by the new Associate Dean (or director of the OSS). Further, if the nominations were not forthcoming by October 31, 1972, then the Associate Dean would unilaterally appoint a director for

the NAP. This was in light of the fact that previously two other program directors in the OSS had been replaced<sup>3</sup> and a third was later put in doubt regarding his status. The question of appointing a director for the NAP was the "straw that broke the camel's back," as one informant put it.<sup>4</sup>

In early October, Native American leaders decided to respond. A possible candidate for the directorship was known to Native Americans by late September and highly regarded by them. However, there was by then a general refusal to go along with the Associate Dean's policies as a whole. Given the issue of a new director and what was viewed as an emerging pattern of administrative encroachment and control (to be reviewed later), Native American leaders met for several nights in order to draft a reply to the new Associate Dean.

On Monday, October 9, 1972, the Native American

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<sup>3</sup> One's resignation was tendered as a threat and readily accepted by the Associate Dean; the other position was filled without going through the usual search procedures, a situation which created suspicions of and problems for the new project director in that program and vis-a-vis the other project directors, contributing to the feeling among project directors and students that a leadership purge from above was being instituted.

<sup>4</sup> Another informant said that it was a gross blunder to act in terms of the Native American leadership as the University did. It was said that this was viewed as another attempt by non-Indians to dictate the nature of Indian leadership. This was held to be but one of many examples of cultural ignorance demonstrated during the crisis.

Student Union (NASU) at the University of Oregon passed a resolution which formally called upon the Associate Dean to meet a set of conditions and demands by 10:00 a.m. on October 12, 1972. If these demands were not met, then the NAP would be abolished. On Tuesday, October 10, the resolution was issued through the NAP office, addressed to the Associate Dean in Student Administrative Services (director of the OSS), and declared: "You have been granted two days to consider your position on our needs. As stated, no compromise is acceptable and resolve is expected officially and concretely by 10:00 a.m., October 12, 1972" (Native American Program 1972 b:3).

On Wednesday, October 11, the Associate Dean and the Acting Director of the NAP met. According to the Oregon Daily Emerald (October 16, 1972), each had a different version of the meeting. The Associate Dean said the letter was unsigned and therefore did not deserve reply because "I did not know who to reply to....I could not find anything...and I did not know what there was to reply to" and that the Acting Director "did not know" either when asked about the revisions of relations between the NAP and the OSS alluded to in the Native American manifesto (Ibid.). The Acting Director of the NAP said: "I took it for granted (the Associate Dean) knew about the subtle revisions...everyone in the program knows about them"... and

that the Associate Dean "would not give me a chance to talk" about the heart of the manifesto and the NASU's view that the OSS meet the objectives stated therein. The Acting Director went on to say: "The crux of the letter was whether (the Associate Dean) was going to agree to our terms, or not respond. And (the Associate Dean) did not respond" (Ibid.).

The Associate Dean had an out of town appointment for October 12, one which had been in process for some time. The Associate Dean left town. To the Native American students the Associate Dean should have stayed and talked with them; going ahead with the planned engagement was viewed as an insult. This was interpreted as saying in effect: "Go ahead and abolish your program, see if I care." The Native Americans did not accept the statement on the unsigned letter either. They felt that it was a message from all of the students. No one individual would have signed it, said one informant. It was an expression of Indian sentiment, a culturally mediated statement. Further, it was said, no one individual would have signed it because it might put that person in the role of a "treaty chief," the kind of person who had sold out Indian peoples in the past to whites and bureaucracies. No one wanted to be cast in the possible role of betrayer by signing. And the Acting Director was not an Indian; he did not feel

that he could sign for them.

Indeed, it was said, Native Americans resented the fact that the new Associate Dean was forcing them into new relationships vis-a-vis the OSS where someone might have to play the role of treaty chief. No one wanted to be put into that kind of predicament. Under the looser relationships of the past between the NAP and the OSS, there was less pressure to assume this role or it could be avoided. Now it was easier to be placed in this compromising position.

Further, the Associate Dean's contention that the "door was always open" was not accepted. This implied that they, Native Americans, would have to come to the OSS, do the Associate Dean's bidding. Finally, it was said, that the manifesto was interpreted by the Associate Dean in terms of the demands by Black students, a set of demands to be negotiated, whereas Native Americans wanted an answer based on what they considered to be fundamental matters of principle.

On Wednesday evening, October 11, Vine Deloria Jr., Indian author of Custer Died For Your Sins, appeared at a convocation at Oregon State University. The essence of his speech was an attack upon the "fourth estate" or professional career bureaucrat who, Deloria said, fought one tooth and nail in order to defend his perogatives and

visions of what was right for people in general and Indian people in particular. Deloria saw the career bureaucrat as a threat to the will of the people as expressed through Congress and the executive branch. Once the career bureaucrats were put in their place, then "institutions will be unclogged." As it was, the career bureaucrats were "more interested in making the machine run than in finding out where the machine is going."

Native American students and leaders from the University of Oregon attended the Deloria speech. His talk was in line with their situation as some of them saw it -- one of "career bureaucrats" and the perfection of administrative machinery as an end as opposed to its purposes or instrumental uses. The former director of the NAP during the question and answer period presented the views of Native American students and their problems at the University of Oregon. Deloria said that universities would soon have to ask themselves what the purposes of such programs were. Later he met with the students from the University of Oregon.

Some informants said that Native American leaders made no elaborate plans for their action, elaborate in the sense that they contacted powerful and influential outside Native American organizations. It was also said that none came forward during the crisis to offer assistance. The

Bureau of Indian Affairs did not involve itself, nor did certain other important tribal groups in Oregon or the Northwest. Yet Native American leaders did, it was said, examine whether their pending action would endanger the financial aid status of its members; they concluded it would not. They figured that they could in one swift and decisive political move present the administration with a fait accompli if their demands were not met. This would be accomplished by a strategic movement of enveloping program operations within the NASU, not subject to control by the administration through its primary weapon -- control of funds. Native Americans, therefore, were ready to de-articulate the NAP to the point that they returned to the structural relationships which obtained when the NAP was a voluntary organization loosely tied to the University.

They also considered other administration movements when they declared (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:3):

Any punitive action by you or any University official to:

1. Transfer Native American students to another program
2. Cancel students' registrations
3. Place future 'holds' on students' registration or financial aid packets
4. Assume control over A.S.U.O. funds
5. Direct University faculty and staff not to recognize our efforts and right to educate ourselves as a group.

will be met by appropriate legal action as civil rights, class action, and/or federal law violation.

Native Americans further concluded that under these circumstances the only one who would be affected directly would be the secretary; she, however, could be reassigned within the system and therefore would not lose her job.

Failing to receive a reply to its letter, the NASU met on Thursday evening, October 12, 1972 and formally abolished the NAP (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 13, 1972). Thus, by irony or design, Native Americans had spoken on Columbus Day, 1972.

#### Immediate Reactions

Both the Associate Dean and the Dean for Student Administrative Services were out of town when the crisis broke. When contacted by the Oregon Daily Emerald (October 13, 1972), the Vice-President of Student Services, on Wednesday had said that "It may be that the resolution (to the problem) has been reached." By Thursday night, he was less sure.

Indeed, on Friday morning, October 13, all was consternation on the campus. Various faculty and administrators interviewed that day were shocked and surprised at the Native Americans' actions. On that morning, a meeting was held in the NAP office by Indian leaders to further explain the situation to students, reassure those who feared administration retaliation in the form of financial aid cuts, and in general mobilize system members for the

tests to come. Out of the meeting came a more determined and united Native American stance,

In an interview on Sunday, October 15 (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 15, 1972), the Acting Director of the NAP said it was "defunct." Rejecting some sixteen-thousand dollars in state funds by the action, the NAP would now operate out of the NASU, on a budget of 2500 dollars from Associated Students of the University of Oregon funds. The Acting Director declared: "Its gaining our freedom from bureaucratic memorandums and not working with students...We want to work with students and we were not getting that kind of leeway" within the OSS's structure. Most of the regular NAP's budget went for administrative salaries, he said. But services "won't be cut" and as a result of the abolition "we can work with students." The Associate Dean said, however, "there's nothing different than there's ever been before" (Ibid.).

Native American leaders said that they would move all equipment and materials not purchased with OSS's funds to the NASU's office in Erb Memorial Union. The last of these activities was going forth on Tuesday, October 17. Grim but determined Native Americans took down posters and signs, ready to put them up in new quarters. Later in the day, when I returned to the ex-office at Fenton Hall, it was dark within, the office cleared. Pinned to the door

was an editorial, the headline of which was underlined: "Native Americans make gutty decision" (Oregon Daily Emerald: October 17, 1972).

As one informant said, he had never seen a more frustrated group of Indian students. The act of abolishing the NAP was unusual for Native Americans, and it was therefore but a measure of the extent to which they felt frustrated by the circumstances in which they were operating. At the height of the crisis, this person had met with NAP leaders from nine o'clock in the evening until four o'clock in the morning. He went on to say that politics among Indian peoples is expressed indirectly. Things were never direct, but through indirection they communicated what they wanted. They were circuitous without being deceitful or crafty. This was a form of Indian politics as mediated through the cultural style of Indian peoples. By implication, the direct action of the Native American leadership and students simply indicated that frustration had grown to the point that no other alternative course of action seemed open.

Or, as another informant said: "It is one thing for the administration of a university to cut off an Indian program; but it is quite another when Indian students themselves do it."

The Native American was an unknown quantity to many

administrators and faculty on the University of Oregon campus. Yet, on Columbus Day, 1972, Native Americans did act and brought to the fore a cumulative set of grievances and assertions which were designed to clarify the relationship between themselves and the University.

Many Native Americans came in their own way to view the events of the fall of 1972 as symbolic, a small part of larger events occurring in Washington, D.C. in November of 1972 (Trail of Broken Treaties) and the occupation of Adair Air Force Base near Corvallis, Oregon (to hasten the acquisition of the site by the Chicano-Indian Study Center of Oregon). Native Americans at the University of Oregon saw their own action and those larger in scope as an attempt to preserve and implement once again the meaning of "self-determination."

The dialectics of Indian humor tell of this purposefulness and the seriousness with which it is accepted. One could see it on the Oregon campus in early November. In the abandoned NAP office window, facing Johnson Hall (the seat of administrative power) was a red-lettered sign against a white background. The sign read "Ft. \_\_\_\_\_" (name of a key administrator in the crisis). This symbolically spoke of the administrative conquest of but a part of "Indian country." Or, as in the case of the Native Americans who were at Adair as part of a sit-in, the

demonstrators were hungry and without food, and the authorities of the state waited for capitulation through such hunger. One Native American was suggested that perhaps the assembled demonstrators use the still operant phones to put in a food order to MacDonald's or Shakey's! Would the long arm of the law really be able to stop these intrepid merchandisers of free enterprise?

Native Americans would maintain in public that silence which so befuddled and dissembled friend and foe alike. But underneath the silence were the anxieties, hopes, and fears that come to all who make and participate in important decisions. Throughout the crisis, Native American actions were marked by irony, pointed humor, the swift political thrust cloaked within the seemingly irrational, and a patience and silence that has resulted in selective acculturation without full assimilation into the larger society.

#### Project Directors and ASUO Officers' Viewpoints

As the crisis went on at the University of Oregon, other political actors were to take the field. Two of the retained but uncowed project directors in the OSS started to object following the actions of the NASU. One director accused the new Associate Dean of having "gone gung ho with power," of trying to gain complete control

over the five programs, and attempting to prevent the programs from dealing with individual units of the University but instead doing so only through the OSS. Another said that the University was trying to "con H.E.W. into funding supportive services" at Oregon through changing the role of the OSS (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 18, 1972).

The Associated Students of the University of Oregon (ASUO) also entered the fray. ASUO Program directors sent a letter to the administration praising the NASU's actions and called upon the University to recognize and promote the NAP's autonomy. Executive officers of the ASUO met with the President of the University of Oregon and the Vice-President of Student Services on the morning of October 19, 1972. The administration at this meeting supported the actions of the Associate Dean, contending that further funding of disadvantaged student programs at Oregon by HEW was dependent upon greater administrative centralization of the programs within OSS and their accountability. This was held to be a nationwide trend in minority programs (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 20, 1972).

Other topics discussed at the meeting, according to an informant there, were abuses in the programs (the administration's charges of academic failure by the programs, elitism, and non-accountability of reports and funds). When this person and other ASUO Executive officers asked

to talk with students who were dissatisfied with the way the programs were run the previous year, the administration said that they could not send any persons over to talk with the ASUO officers because the program directors in OSS or members of the student unions on campus might retaliate against them. This informant said he could not accept this. He and other officers had not found any students dissatisfied with the programs' operations during the 1971-1972 academic year, only students who were at the present time angry about the administration's actions.

Discussions also revolved around the firing of the former director of the OSS, the quality of the proposal submitted to HEW in the spring of 1972, and the changing nature of the times so far as minority programs were concerned. Stressed by the administration was the fact that centralization was necessary if funding and maintenance of the programs were to continue. The ASUO's officers were asked to use their good offices to bring the parties together. But this was viewed by some of the officers as a form of co-optation. One of them said that they were distrusted anyway by the NAP. The latter's leaders did not consult with them very often. This informant also observed that Native Americans were as a group the most alienated on the campus, and they did not push their case strongly enough.

The ASUO Executive officers also talked with the new Associate Dean in charge of the OSS.

From these discussions, the ASUO officers next met with the directors of the programs in the OSS and some concerned heads of the ethnic student unions. This was on Friday, October 20th. A general review of what the administration had stated in the previous day's meeting was presented: the need for administrative centralization and accountability within disadvantaged student programs on campus.

One of the leaders in the OSS's programs said the problem was one of defining accountability. He wondered if it was not lacking in HEW's Region 10, in the OSS, and the administration. And why was it suddenly only in the five programs? He went on to say that HEW's definition of consolidation was vague. Another speaker said that it meant that one program could serve all students. But the project leader, who raised the question of what accountability and consolidation meant, continued by saying it was the OSS which was non-accountable; and that if consolidation meant one program, then the individual programs and their directors had no real functions. He said that it was the OSS which had failed in administration, financial aids, counseling, and the like. HEW and the administration did not understand very much, he emphasized, if they

thought each group could be mixed within one tight administrative structure. Things would rattle if they did. That had been tried before (e.g., Upward Bound) with bad results. This person further stated how consolidation meant the end of program autonomy. The programs were doing their jobs; it was the University's bureaucracy which was "goofing up." The OSS just became one more "pipeline" which caused students and programs to run from here to there; and in the process there were delays in test scores, transcripts, and other forms. This had become the norm. A month's delay in getting action on a form from the OSS was mentioned.

Another project director said that other parts of the University no longer recognized a project director's authority; they always wanted to know if the OSS had approved of this or that action. "We are peons now," said one project leader.

At this time the interim director of the now abolished NAP came into the meeting late. His entrance was greeted with applause. He stretched out at the side of the circle, listened for a while, said nothing, and shortly left. In the back of the room was the person who would be the future director of the NAP. She did not speak until near the end of the meeting and then only briefly in response to questions. In general she indicated

that the students did not know where they and the NAP stood; but they were all doing the best they could.

The discussion continued. One project leader stated how the individual programs had existed before the OSS. He observed they had been "dragged" into joining a special services framework through a central office only because they had been assured that the OSS would advise as opposed to dictate. The comment was made that the new Associate Dean had supposedly made disparaging remarks about students in one of the programs. Comments were made about the new Associate Dean's qualifications and public statements. Attention shifted to the Associate Dean's attempts to control the individual programs' funds. One ASUO officer said her attempt to control ASUO funds, which were a part of the individual programs' budgets, was indicative of the shift within OSS from consultant to boss.

Questions of structure arose. Asked one person: "Why have this office that does not do anything?" A student union leader suggested that perhaps a cabinet type of organization with the five directors and the Associate Dean might resolve the problem. One adamant program leader supported the idea of an advisory board composed of the five directors and administrators. But he was against the idea of an OSS.

Consideration moved to what was going to happen next.

One director said the administration was trying to initiate and undertake a process of "co-optation" and "assimilation." Another said that, yes, there would be a resolution of the problem: the "radicals" and the "trouble-makers" in the programs would fall. He said the key administrator in charge of the programs in the past would not go through again what he had to put up with under the former OSS director and the programs. He made reference back to another person's remark that this administrator had gotten "egg on his face" with the loss of HEW's funding of the programs in the spring of 1972 and the firing of the former director. This project leader saw an axe coming. As it was, this prescience was to come true later in the academic year. But not in the fall of 1972.

The meeting ended with assorted discussions going on. But there was not a consensus shaped and formed into a definite program of action by the parties concerned.

On October 26, 1972, the ASUO's executive officers issued a statement on the continuing crisis revolving around disadvantaged student programs at the University (Associated Students University of Oregon 1972). The paper stated the background which had led up to the crisis between the new Associate Dean and the programs within the OSS. The ASUO Executive, however, saw it as "unfortunate" that the Associate Dean was "being cast as the villain in

this crisis," because the latter might "pull the levers" but did "not control the machine." Rather, the Associate Dean was merely "implementing a policy designed and decided upon in Johnson Hall." The ASUO Executive went on to state the administration was in essence using a minority person "to do a job that they do not want to do or take the blame for themselves." The new Associate Dean had "created the impression" of being "a ruthless, single-minded bureaucrat on a power trip." The Associate Dean had "not only followed instructions well but has shown an anxious willingness to take the rap for it." As a result, such "high-handed methods of doing things have made enemies of the people" the Associate Dean was "supposed to be working with." The ASUO Executive concluded that this willingness "to play the heavy" made the Associate Dean "a perfect scapegoat if things get too hot later" (Ibid.:2).

The ASUO Executive thus laid the blame for the origins of the crisis with the administration. They emphasized that the administration's belief "that an integrated Supportive Services has more chance of getting HEW funding than do five autonomous Projects" reflected "sterling Anglo Liberalism" in the quest for "federal bucks" and that there was "a glaring paternalism" undergirding the administration's assumption about the need for greater accountability and responsibility within the OSS (Ibid.:2-3).

The ASUO Executive then went on to make the following observations:

The University of Oregon does not own the Supportive Services, although the Administration is trying to create that impression. The Administration perhaps needs reminding that it is supposed to provide an administrative structure for these Projects, not make decisions for them. And perhaps the University also needs reminding that the whole Supportive Services concept came from the students, that the Projects were begun by the students without a dime from the University or anyone else. These Projects have survived because they serve a very important purpose; to help people from non-middle class backgrounds understand and survive in the University. No one who has helped fund the Supportive Services ever bought it -- not the University, not the State of Oregon, or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Ibid.:3).

The position paper added that centralization undermined the very philosophy of the programs: "That not all students come from the same cultural background and that they therefore face different kinds of problems in coping with the University life." Therefore, centralization seemed to say all minorities were the same and "should be dealt with in the same way." The ASUO Executive concluded that such "obvious ethnic diversity, if nothing else, requires autonomy for the five Projects" (Ibid.:3-4).

Charging that the major functions of the OSS had been changed in order to "subdue the five Projects and bring them under control," the position paper called for a return to the status quo. Rather than pleasing outside agencies, the ASUO Executive said: "Perhaps, in the last analysis,

the University Administration needs reminding that they, and this University, exist to help students and to facilitate their learning. That, and that alone, is their primary responsibility" (Ibid.:4).

The next public blast against the administration's actions came from the Chicano Task Force. It called for the abolition of the OSS, support for the NAP, and stated that Chicanos would "reaffirm our prior commitments to our own cultural groupings, recognizing the uncertain status of the programs involved in the OSS." The Chicano Task Force argued that the OSS was failing to recognize cultural differences within its structure. It stated that "acceptance of cultural pluralism and awareness of its existence would make the operation of problems less problematic" but that the "administration's inability to accept this concept makes any solution highly impossible." The Chicano Task Force continued by emphasizing that it was the administration which had broken faith with the programs. The programs had been accountable, had competent leadership, and were legitimately resisting arbitrary actions by the administration. The Chicano Task Force concluded: "The strength of the programs lies in the independence of each program to develop and flourish within" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 30, 1972).

At the same time, the Black Student Union (BSU) issued

a position paper which attacked the trends toward centralization within the OSS. This paper emphasized the role of the programs in recruiting, the opportunities the programs offered to students to function within the programs and become leaders, the cultural benefits of the individual programs, and the need for autonomy in budgets, hiring staff, offering employment to program members, and helping them with financial aids. The trend toward centralization threatened all of this and was therefore contrary to the ideals undergirding the separate programs which were directed toward controlling and realizing their own "individual aspirations" (Oregon Daily Emerald, November 1, 1972).

#### Administrator Viewpoints

The views of University of Oregon administrators regarding the crisis raised by the abolition of the NAP are structured from a review of public statements and the conduct of private interviews and conversations with key informants. These feelings and attitudes surrounded several major points. They are: (1) the question of who founded and obtained funds for disadvantaged student programs at the University of Oregon; (2) the question of who controlled programs within the OSS; (3) differences over the selection of directors for programs in OSS; (4) the need for greater professionalization in OSS; (5) the question of

whether the programs within OSS were providing adequate services to students; (6) the need for administrative efficiency in OSS; (7) the charge that there was too much separatism by the programs in OSS from the rest of the University; (8) the need to reassert more universalistic values and procedures regarding disadvantaged student programs; (9) the changing times and trends regarding disadvantaged student programs by funding agencies; and (10) the need for greater accountability by programs within OSS with regard to funds and evaluation.

#### Funding and Founding of Disadvantaged Student Programs

The Native American Program and other programs for minorities and disadvantaged students under OSS stated that they had founded their own programs; and that they had obtained funds for them.

Different administrators argued the only program funds which were not subject to their control were those provided by the Associated Students of the University of Oregon. (Student leaders did state that the new Associate Dean seemed intent upon controlling those funds as they applied to the programs.) State funds were allocated to the State System of Higher Education and then from there to each university unit, it was said. Federal funds were similarly given to the University. Thus "their" money, as the program directors put it, was in reality that of the

University and not the possession of the individual programs per se.

Where students and program directors claimed that they went down to the state legislature and appeared before the Ways and Means Committee while no one from the administration did, and thereby really obtained state funds for disadvantaged student programs at Oregon, administrators pointed to the appearance of the University of Oregon's President before the legislature. Thus it was said the University of Oregon was able to obtain sixty percent of the state's educational monies going to such programs "through the intervention of President Clark and because we were there early" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972). This was countered by program directors when one of them said: "Clark went up with us, be we got the money for ourselves" (Ibid.).

While the student and minority inputs were there, said various administrators, the fact remained that the legislature and federal government allocated funds to the University as an administrative unit, not to the individual programs. The University therefore was a trustee for the funds given by others and accountable for them. On this basis, therefore, all arguments about who obtained the funds, said various administrators, ignored the legal and administrative realities which governed higher

education.

Some top and middle-level administrators pointed out, too, that they had worked along with students in the early days to get the programs started. That is, it was stated that without some administrative assistance, or the University considered as a whole, students would not have received the initial access and support necessary for program development. In brief, the administration's position argued that in some cases there was active assistance on its part, and the faculty, to promote the further development of the programs. For example, one top-level administrator pointed out he and others worked with the University's Counseling Center to help some 8-15 Indian students obtain supportive services. This, he said, was really the start of the NAP at the University of Oregon. Thus the point was made that students did not just of and by themselves start many of these programs. Concerned administrators tried to help where possible in the beginning, it was said.

Nonetheless, administrators seemed to say there may have been indifference or lack of initiative by the University as a whole when compared to the demands, needs, and problems of disadvantaged students at Oregon and the University did not become sufficiently committed until there were greater student demands and efforts, let alone

funds available from the federal government. But administrators went on to state that (1) the University was not hostile to such efforts by students, concerned faculty and administrators; and (2) the University did in a short time seek and obtain funding for supportive services and still did. Administrative viewpoints concluded, therefore, that the environment at the University was hospitable toward disadvantaged students (e.g., one of the first Upward Bound programs in the nation was at Oregon before the founding of the programs included as a part of OSS), and there were concerned faculty and administrators who worked with students toward program development. Thus administrators felt their role in these events was pictured in too simplistic terms on this point -- that the students did it all and the administration did nothing -- and such a purist stance by the students and program directors as to the origins and development of the programs did not fully square with the facts.<sup>5</sup>

#### Program Control

The NASU declared the NAP to be dissolved. According to the administration, the NASU did not control the NAP and

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<sup>5</sup>The 1970 proposal to the U.S. Office of Education, Support Services for Programs for the Disadvantaged, April 27, 1970:2-15, reviews the University of Oregon's commitment extensively.

therefore had nothing to dissolve. The NAP was said by administrators to be organizationally different from the NASU. The latter was a social, cultural, and political body, it was said, while the NAP was an academic venture given its functions in the area of supportive services. Throughout the crisis, the administration in essence stated that it would not accept a doctrine of nullification by the NASU vis-a-vis the NAP. More by what it did not say than what it said publicly, the University administration saw the issue of sovereignty as being one which rested ultimately with itself, not with the student unions or the leadership of the programs or their members. The administration tried to keep a low profile throughout the crisis. Administrators felt that if they became embroiled in a public slugfest or shouting match the undoubted beneficiaries would be the program directors. (Some middle-level administrators felt, too, that the tactic of broad public reply would simply fuel the "yellow journalism" and the perceived anti-administration line of the student-oriented newspaper on campus, the Oregon Daily Emerald.)

The administration's position, then, was that the issue was one of accountability. As long as the NAP, or others, was funded through the state or federal government, the institution was responsible to these funding agencies. Therefore, the programs were accountable to the institution.

On these lines, the administration was arguing that within an institutional context all questions resolved themselves into the fact that the administration was the final arbiter on these matters. But the issue was not so baldly put. Rather, it was intentionally left vague. Relationships would have to be worked out which resulted in the reintegration of the NAP as well as clarified with the other programs. Yet, there appears never to have been any doubt in the minds of administrators as to where the ultimate power resided when it came to the control of funds and programs within the university setting. Administrators would not accept a doctrine of unilateral nullification or secession where the ultimate decision was theirs to make.

#### Selection of Directors

The NAP members' position was that they had the right to choose their own director. (The normal procedure was that the ethnic student unions selected a director, subject to final approval by the President of the University of Oregon.) The new Associate Dean in charge of the OSS laid down several new qualifications which directors would have to meet: educational ones (e.g., "a baccalarueate degree or its equivalent"), personal qualities, time allotments, and a long and rather detailed job description. All of this was more clearly forcefully put than in the past, wherein relationships between the OSS and the program

directors had been ambivalent and ambiguous. Now it was definitely stated that the new director of the OSS, the Associate Dean, would be responsible for "personnel management of all program staff positions"(Office of Supportive Services 1972a: 1).

This position reflected an increasingly get tough attitude and demand for expertise and accountability toward program directors and staff by the administration. Thus one top-level administrator had made it very clear, before the NASU action in dissolving the NAP, that directors and staff would be more responsible to a chain of command and would be fired if they did not do their job. This view was expressed with force and indicated determination to change things in the area of personnel management from what obtained in the past.

The administration, through the new Associate Dean, replaced two of the program directors and later re-evaluated the status of a third. The question of the NAP's directorship was also up for consideration. The administration appeared to be moving toward greater program control and efficiency through the power to appoint new directors in September of 1972. This action, however, was put to the test when Native Americans responded negatively to the requests in late September that they put forward three nominees for the Associate Dean's consideration or

the latter would make the decision unilaterally. In this case, the administration was viewed by the program directors as pushing forward a principle which narrowed the agreed-upon consulting or nominating and selective powers of the programs as during the summer of 1972 the same principle had been applied to the choosing of the new directors of OSS, the Associate Dean, when student or program directors' input had been essentially ignored.

Administrators argued that such part-time student directors (or other student staff) were not doing an adequate job and there had to be a greater professionalization of the staff in the programs (as in all of OSS, as personified by the new Associate Dean) given inefficiencies. As the Associate Dean said: "There should be student input (on choosing program directors) but the OSS should be the final authority"<sup>6</sup> and that the programs needed "professionals" as opposed to students going to school and carrying on a part-time job (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 19, 1972). Beyond these issues, however, the administration apparently felt that on this point, as in the reversal of the program directors' role in the choosing of the director of OSS, it was important to assert greater administrative (OSS) control

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<sup>6</sup>It was the attempt to put the final say in choosing directors in the OSS that was most vigorously opposed by the programs and pushed by the administration in order to strengthen the OSS.

in the selection of project directors.

### Professionalization

A recurrent theme of administrators was that student program staff alone could not generate efficiency and output, especially if they were going to school at the same time. Too often, it was said, people who could not handle their own problems were consoling other students with problems. Sometimes these counselors or advisers were no more than freshmen or sophomores, according to some informants. In the process, the students in the programs were not getting the services they deserved. Thus the need for professionals.

The new directors of OSS made it clear that students in the programs needed professionals in terms of program directors as well as in the preparation of budgets, writing funding proposals, and gathering data (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 19, 1972).

Some middle-level administrators said they had to perform academic and social advising because the programs were not carrying out their functions. These administrators said they had warned the program directors for two years that a day of reckoning was coming (as one project leader said that he had warned the administration of abuses in certain programs for two years, too, but that nothing had been done about it). To these administrators,

it was difficult to imagine student programs of this type operating inefficiently within an environment of administrative and institutional responsibility without eventually being held accountable. These views stated the programs did not come up to expected administrative standards and now the professionals had to do the job. This was not unlike the failure of the War on Poverty, said one of these middle-level administrators, where the same reaction was setting in against the "maximum feasible participation" philosophy (See Moynihan 1969).

These same administrators attacked with considerable vigor, and scorn, the "new careers" concept which was held to undergird, in part, the staffing of the programs, wherein students were put in paraprofessional roles which were designed to open up new career opportunities for the poor. It was stated that one had to work within the system and to know that system and perform sufficiently within it to get what you wanted. The programs, and their leaders, had not been doing that. The various arguments used by project directors (e.g., the need for autonomy and independence) constituted essentially rationalizations for failure these administrators said. Given the actions of the University and the new leadership in OSS, it was said, the program leaders would now have to do their job, something they were not doing before. Whereas project leaders

stated that they did not have the appropriate level of funding and resources, and thus the reason why success was limited, the counter was that they had enough funds but they dissipated them and were not getting results. Therefore, professionals and professionalism were necessary to correct long-standing problems and abuses.

### Services

A major argument of the administration for tighter control over the programs was the fact students were not receiving the services they were entitled to through the programs. It was said that students were receiving poor academic, social, and financial advice. Some programs were charged with (1) failing to inform students of the services available to them through the University system, (e g., Reading and Study Skills Center), let alone fully utilize them; (2) giving preferential treatment, in some cases, to certain students within a program so far as monies or services were concerned; and (3) allowing students to just take hours and courses without giving them sufficient counseling to follow a definite program which led to a degree and graduation. All of this and more, it was held, showed up in high droupout rates, failures, and students remaining in the programs too long.

Allowing this situation to continue, several informants said, was a form of racism by the institution. As a

result of students receiving poor services and not moving through the system fast enough, ethnic communities were being deprived of the well-trained people and leaders they desperately needed. Further, the student themselves were being cheated out of a good education and the services designed to facilitate it. Some administrators acknowledged that if the attempt to gain greater control over the programs succeeded, some program independence and pluralism might be lost. But this might be necessary in order for students to receive the services they were entitled to as members of the University system.

In order to increase the flow of services to students, according to various administrators, several actions were undertaken. One was the reorganization of the programs, OSS, and their incorporation into Student Administrative Services. This articulation of program units through OSS to other units -- such as financial aids, admissions, and registration -- was designed to coordinate student services for the five programs on a more efficient basis. As the Oregon Daily Emerald October 19, 1972 said, the new Associate Dean saw the OSS "as coordinating agent for the five aid programs, an agent with the duties above, and in making arrangements with academic departments for advising, arrangements with housing, and arrangements with the admissions office."

The tone that the OSS was to be more aggressive and active in making certain that students in the programs were exposed to and articulated with the University system also came forth in the orientation session for entering freshmen. The OSS, under the direction of the new Associate Dean, put forth a tight and explicit schedule for entering freshmen in the various programs, stating in bold type "All FRESHMEN ARE REQUIRED TO ATTEND" a set of orientation activities (Office of Supportive Services 1972b). The schedule included testing, an introduction to Supportive Services (in the person of the new Associate Dean), meetings with the project directors, a general introduction to the campus, study skills orientation, library skills, acquaintance with the Housing Department, Admissions and Registrar's Office, Business Office, Financial Aids, with other time for academic advising.

Several administrators had made it clear that previous orientation sessions by the programs were insufficient or inadequate. It was stated that the hope was to let freshmen know from the beginning what kinds of services were available, where to go on campus, and to introduce them to the persons associated with OSS. In the latter case, and indeed for the entire orientation, there was a definite socialization process going on, wherein students were to identify with the OSS. That is, there would appear to have

been an explicit attempt to focus student attention upon the OSS as a paramount object in the process of serving students. This reorientation, from differentiated programs to the OSS, coincides with the other re-relations going forward vis-a-vis the programs and the OSS.

Another frequently mentioned example of how the administration was trying to insure that students were receiving services and moving through the system toward the completion of degrees was the enforcement of the so-called "thirty-six hour" rule. The carrying out of this rule was executed through a financial aids letter or statement that students had to sign before receiving aid. Entering and continuing disadvantaged students had to complete a certain number of quarter hours of credit, with acceptable grades, if they were to continue to receive financial aid during the year or for the next year.

#### Administrative Efficiency

Informants stressed that too much duplication and waste occurred when administrative units of the University had to deal with five separate programs. With each program making its own contacts with University systems, and by-passing the OSS, this increased the demand on already overloaded systems. The rational step was to increase coordination of the individual programs through one larger administrative unit. Then there would be greater service

and output for all concerned. Thus as the new Associate Dean stated: "We cannot have the program directors making separate arrangements both because of the inconvenience to the personnel of the various offices and the confusion arising from different arrangements" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 19, 1972).

Similarly, it was pointed out that HEW wanted greater consolidation of the administrative efforts at the University regarding disadvantaged students. By increasing the coordinative functions of the OSS, this would help win additional funds from HEW. As the Associate Dean put it: "HEW doesn't want a loose organization. They want minority programs under one umbrella which was part of the reason HEW didn't fund the programs last year" (Ibid.). In a draft proposal to HEW (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>c</sub>:1-2) for further funding, the Associate Dean outlined these changes as follows:

Since August 16, 1972, an associate dean in Student Administrative Services for student programs has been appointed to direct these five programs. The duties of the associate dean are to coordinate the five programs, manage the overall fiscal development, and act as a common authority for the five programs.

This reorganization of the five programs places them under Student Administrative Services with other departments such as the Financial Aids Department, the Registrar, Admissions Department, and Student Services Research. The line-staff relationship is shown in Appendix A.

The purpose of the reorganization is to

centralize management and budgetary controls and to eliminate duplication of services.

The five programs are no longer entirely student directed because of the many complicated areas such as fiscal management, hiring of competent personnel, and directing of the many component services. Students will continue to have input such as evaluating the program and its personnel.

These proposed statements to HEW on increasing centralization and student input were apparently intended to explain to HEW that there would be more control and efficiency than in the past when it came to minority programs at Oregon. Thus the Associate Dean explained, in the words of the Oregon Daily Emerald (October 19, 1972), "the OSS reorganization took place because the office deals most often with admissions and financial aids which are under Student Administrative Services." This view was reinforced by the Vice-President for Student Services. The latter stated that "The services provided the students are related. Admissions, financial aid, academic requirements, all answer to the Student Administrative Dean..." And thus "the answers they needed...The questions they asked (the Dean) could answer. When they came to me, I had to go to (him)" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972).

From the viewpoint of one administrator, all of this meant that the individual programs would have to start with "clean administrative functions" by going through OSS, thereby saving time for other administrative units. But

this person went on to say that program leaders felt that they had to report. This was not the case, however, said this administrator. Nonetheless, control functions were a part of the drive for efficiency as presented by administrators.

### Separatism

It was said that the five programs were too separate from the rest of the University system. This was viewed as a form of self-segregation. This was attacked in terms of the programs not using the services of the University; the fact that the University is a place where pluralities must meet to exchange ideas; where given the separatism of the programs there was too much duplication when administrative units had to deal with five separate programs instead of one central one; that such separatism and autonomy became a way of escaping evaluation and responsibility or accountability; and finally such separatism merely encouraged the growth of interethnic hostility and competition (one administrator said there was more conflict between the programs on this matter than on the University campus as a whole). Program autonomy or separatism had reached the point, it was held, where elitism, inefficiency, closure of the mind to new ideas, irresponsibility, and ethnocentrism and racism were being fostered. However, administrators felt, with the movement toward one program

or greater program unity through OSS, these disintegrative tendencies would be lessened. The administration's argument was the need to get minority students as individuals, and the programs, more into the mainstream culture of the University. Too many of the programs were cultural and educational islands of resistance to such mainstream pulls, and in the process students were receiving less in the way of services, education, and exposure to new ideas and social interactions.

#### Values and Procedures

According to some middle-level administrators, other University of Oregon students were beginning to question the status of disadvantaged students, seeing such a position as privileged or disadvantaged students as beneficiaries of a policy of favoritism. The mood was different, it was said, from three years ago when all were for the disadvantaged student. Now other students were saying they were "disadvantaged" relative to disadvantaged minorities. This turn in opinion was pointed out as being particularly true in the area of financial aids. Here other students in need see and/or say that minorities seem to be getting all the money, whereas they, the non-minority students, were not getting a representative share. One administrator said other students would say: "Why should I ride a bike when a minority student seems to have enough money

for a car?" Since disadvantaged students are getting one hundred percent financing, other students ask: "What about me?" or "Why should I worry about students who are getting it good and I am not?" Thus there was a real backlash here, said some administrators.

It was also pointed out that the new Associate Dean was committed to getting students through the system without special privileges or "babying" them, as the programs supposedly did. The Associate Dean wanted greater individual responsibility, informants stated, and more students to know about University services and to avail themselves of these services on an individual basis rather than so selectively through the programs. Students, then, were viewed as being too dependent upon the programs.

Thus informants said in essence there was the need to reassert universalistic values and procedures regarding disadvantaged students. The forces of particularism had swung so far that there was need of a corrective balance. In financial aids it was noted that all would have to apply at the same time for funds. There would not be any bending just because one's status was disadvantaged. And by increasingly getting students to use the University system and its services through OSS (viewed as one program), there would be a greater amount of administrative efficiency, individual responsibility, and utilization of

services for all.

"The Times, They are a Changing"

Several administrators said that in essence the environment in which universities and minority programs operated had substantially changed in recent years. Not too much was said in a time of turmoil and abundance of money. But the 1970's were not the 1960's. Student demands for autonomous programs, ethnic studies which did not measure up to academic standards, the hiring of under-qualified staff for any position that students might want, non-negotiable demands, immediate setting up of full-blown minority studies programs--all these and more were of another period and time. Funding agencies were demanding accountability and measurable results. Noting the changing mood in the country, the Associate Dean and director of OSS said that: "money is tight" and "the program directors ran their programs well for the 60's. They have a lot to learn. We all do. Maybe we can learn together" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 29, 1972). Thus the administration's view was that changing times were increasingly calling for a tighter control and results in the programs. With the national government's tightening up on financial aid, the demands for centralization, and the reluctance of the state to appropriate funds without accountability, there was a greater necessity than ever to meet the

organizational and ideological demands of other systems.

### Accountability and Evaluation

Administrators said that the OSS was a means of insuring accountability to various funding agencies. They feared the loss of such funding unless there was greater accountability. Though never fully defined, indeed becoming a variable code word to different aggregations, accountability was used most often in terms of funds and evaluations regarding the results of their expenditure.

Some middle-level administrators felt there were abuses in certain programs, that there was too much "ripping off" of the system. They said there was more than sufficient proof of the failures of certain programs, that the evidence was strong and persuasive, and if they had to release it, they would. But the nature of the controversy and crisis were such that this strategy would backfire. Other systems, however, would point out these problems, it was said, in particular the State System of Higher Education which had a forthcoming report on disadvantaged student programs in Oregon.

The administration put forth the idea that there would be more control over the budgets of the programs. This was vigorously opposed by the programs. As the Vice President of Student Services said by way of example on this subject: if a program such as the Center for

Environmental Studies obtained funding, "I can't believe they would say we can do anything we want" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972). Now, some informants said, the programs would have to submit detailed budgets and live within them and account for their expenditure through the OSS. The U.S. Office of Education wanted accountability for funds given. So did the state legislature.

The term accountability extended not only to budgets, but it also had its other side -- evaluation of the programs. There had been a faculty evaluation of the programs in 1971 (University of Oregon 1971) by the University Committee on Educational Opportunity Programs. But most of the reports made by the programs were simply "progress reports" sent to the director of OSS. This person summarized these down into another progress report to HEW. It wanted, however, a systematic evaluation process wherein standards were set, functions defined, and results were quantified.

Thus an HEW informant said, relative to the University of Oregon, that it wanted to know the "intensity of the service" and greater specificity as to its content (e.g., "counseling -- Is it just a rap session?" the HEW official asked). This person went on to say that HEW did not want "high sounding goals" but facts. The Reading and Study Skills Center at the University of Oregon was held

to be presently approximating these values. The HEW official concluded by saying that the ethnically-based and student-directed programs at Oregon were "educational side-shows" as far as this person was concerned. This attitude was matched with another that said HEW never seemed to know who was in charge at the University of Oregon so far as disadvantaged students were concerned. The persistence of such attitudes over a period of time by HEW influenced the University of Oregon in its drive to regain federal funding for its disadvantaged programs.

The State System of Higher Education was also demanding data from the University of Oregon. This was sent out in the spring of 1972 in the form of a very extensive questionnaire to all units of the State System having disadvantaged programs. Sources within the State System were highly critical of the University of Oregon's response to the questionnaire and its general failure to be more systematic in its evaluation.<sup>7</sup>

University of Oregon administrators were aware of criticisms by other systems. And a very important part of the drive for greater control and centralization was to

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<sup>7</sup> The person primarily responsible for preparing the State System's latest report on student disadvantaged programs had to personally dig out a great deal of information on a number of occasions at the University of Oregon in the fall of 1972 because the data provided was inadequate as originally submitted.

increase the upward flow of information. But as the new Associate Dean said: "We have forms for information and the directors can't even give us the information" (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 19, 1972). The Associate Dean went on to point out that OSS was to be an information center for the programs on such data as ethnicity, retention rates, and the like. The point was made by several informants that hardly any information existed on the programs in OSS due to the lack of cooperation by the programs and the poor management of the OSS the previous year. As the Associate Dean said: "When we go to the state legislature for funding they are going to question us and they are going to want answers...Answering 'I don't know' ... 'I think...' is not going to work" (Ibid.). Lacking too many of the answers on the programs for other sociocultural systems -- HEW, the state legislature, and the Chancellor's Office -- University of Oregon administrators pushed hard for an increased flow upward through the revitalization and reorganization of OSS.

In general, the administration's position regarding the programs was well-summarized by the Vice President of Student Services. His position was that the programs had to have federal funding. But HEW was not interested in funding an "omnibus" program such as at Oregon where there were individual programs carrying on counseling, academic

advising, study skills, and the like. Rather, these components, according to HEW should be centralized in a few places and open to all students. The Vice President of Students Services went on to say that "autonomy and self-determination are understandable, even laudable." And that: "If the programs need identity, then we should go for state funding." He concluded that the University wanted both types of funding (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972). Therefore, from the administration's viewpoint, there remained the fundamental problem of trying to create an administrative structure which met the perceived demands of others for greater centralization and yet which retained the University's commitment to its ethnic groups' desire for autonomy and identity through their own programs.

#### Resolution of the Crisis

The November 1, 1972 statement by the Black Student Union against centralization trends in the OSS was the last public utterance during the fall crisis. But by then the crisis had already moved into other channels. Certain key figures were to emerge in behind the scenes negotiations between the Native Americans and the administration.

The first of these was a faculty member who had good relations with Indian students as a teacher and as a friend. He had taught courses designed to help Indian

students, had influenced the intellectual outlook of some Native Americans on campus, had lived with a major Indian tribe for several years, and was recognized by others -- faculty and administrators -- as a key interpreter of Native Americans on the Oregon campus. His own self-described role in the crisis was that of "mediator" or a "go between." A cultural mediator and/or interpreter was needed, he said, whenever Native Americans and administrators clash.

He said that Native Americans have historically experienced bureaucracy as frustrating and a waste of time and effort. Indians want to talk with someone who can get actions accomplished. They do not want to be put through an endless series of bureaucratic layers, be shunted from one system to another, cope with endless appointment schedules, and rely on second hand information systems (e.g., secretaries). Too often this had been happening to Native Americans at the University, he said. Things were too diffuse; there seemed to be no one center of authority and decision, a place to go in order to get answers and action. Promised actions seemed to get lost in the maze. A bureaucratic or an administrative model was constantly thrown up to Indians in order to get things done. This was rejected. Indian students and leaders felt there was no one person with whom they could articulate in the

administration. This faculty member felt that the crisis had shown the operation of an important principle: that University administrators must be willing to "short circuit" bureaucracy when dealing with Native Americans and other culturally different students. By going around and/or minimizing line-staff relations, it was possible to reduce paranoia and misunderstanding, he said.

As a cultural mediator, this person continued, one must be willing to listen (his emphasis) to Native American students. He must wait for the emergence of the major grievances through a prolonged process of indirection. He must be willing to interact in informal settings, such as drinking a beer. Also, the person in the role of cultural mediator must be one who has influence with the administration. In this case, he did as a faculty member and because the administration recognized his relationship vis-a-vis the Native Americans.

In his role as a mediator, this faculty member had met with NAP leaders well into the morning shortly after the crisis had broke. He also met with the Associate Dean, explaining to the latter the Native Americans' feelings and attitudes and the intended meanings of the manifesto. He attempted to convey some of the cultural assumptions of Native Americans concerning their program, leadership, and their views of administrative structures.

Accompanying him on this visit to the Associate Dean was a second person who was to play an important role in winding down the immediate crisis. This person was the head of an important faculty committee concerned with minority programs on the campus (Educational Opportunities Committee). This person was widely respected by other faculty members because his positions were carefully thought out and well-grounded in fact. He was in part sympathetic to the Native Americans' position. Though wanting more accountability and stronger administration within the OSS, he felt that the administration had acted too strongly and had been precipitant in its actions during the crisis. His was a conservative view which sought to defuse a conflict situation by bringing precedents of the past in the University to bear on the present problem. His involvement, it was said, showed faculty concern. And given his status among the faculty, this was an added inducement for the administration to undertake positive steps toward bringing the crisis under control.

As a body, the Educational Opportunities Committee did not involve itself formally in the conflict. One factor cited was the presence of the Associate Dean in Student Administrative Services on the Committee; another was the feeling that the administration was acting to resolve the crisis through the establishment of an

investigatory and recommendations body.

A third important role was that of the new Dean of Student Administrative Services. He used his office to reach project leaders, call powerful faculty members, such as those previously mentioned, even countermanding the Associate Dean's decision on the status of one project director. Increasingly he came to the fore as the administration's spokesman in the private negotiations. The Associate Dean was taken out of the immediate picture and the Vice President of Student Services remained above the din.

The Dean of Student Administrative Services emphasized how he knew little of the history of the programs, that he was new to the job that he now held, and that he had not sought it. He saw the problems with the NAP as those of primarily communication; and that the administrative reorganization within the OSS was designed to increase it between the programs and the administration. He met with different parties in the conflict -- faculty, ASUO officers, project directors, students, and administrators. He emphasized the need for a united front and a rethinking of past practices if the programs were to survive. To program directors he pointed out that without state and federal funds there would not be any programs and hence directors. They should be less concerned with their power

and more with the present and future. They were told that it was necessary to ask: Where have we been? What have we accomplished? He stated that funds would have to be tied to goals with a definite outcome, which meant evaluation as to the present and future. He encouraged feedback between the students and directors and himself. He also indicated that he was still enough of a "states' rights man" to do what the University wanted to do, even if it meant losing federal funds. Thus he communicated the idea that he was flexible on the matter of structuring relations so far as the programs were concerned.

Although encouraging the program directors to rethink their operations, to even come up with an ideal program which did not go out of budgetary sight and reality, the Dean of Student Administrative Services felt the program directors were slow in putting forth any suggestions. That little, if anything, was coming forth. This, too, was communicated to others in his conversations with concerned participants in the crisis.

The Dean, then, represented a new administrative tone and line in the conflict: the need for a united front and the need for change in the face of upcoming tests. By emphasizing his newness to the job and the fact that he had not asked for it, he sought to turn criticism that he did not have familiarity with the programs' history and

operations into an asset: he conveyed the idea that he was open to new ideas and opposed to being wedded to the past and that he was more neutral given the fact that he had not been involved in past conflicts. Similarly, by emphasizing the need to act in unison, he recalled to the participants the results of past conflicts and the lack of unity: the loss of federal funding and the prospect of the programs not surviving if the conflict continued and changes were not made. Finally, emphasis was put upon the willingness of the Dean to be conciliatory, to meet with the various parties, and to keep the channels of communication open. In his own way, the Dean sought to communicate the idea that things could be different from the past; that his administrative style was different from others. But also there was the message that changes would have to be made.

A fourth person was also involved in the attempts to bring together the various parties. He was a Native American who held an administrative position. His concern was that the Native American students' views be considered by the administration. He felt that there was a good chance for the differences to be settled. He was willing to use his good offices to bring the parties together. But he would not be a party to a sham compromise that would leave the Native American students unsatisfied. He talked with

various administrators and concluded that the administration was looking for a way to resolve the issues. It was also his opinion that there was the necessity to look into the present structure of the OSS and the relationships of the various programs. During the absence of the faculty member who had assumed the role of mediator in the crisis, this person was instrumental in arranging for an initial meeting between NAP leaders and concerned faculty. At the meeting there was to be a discussion about such possibilities as (1) Native Americans drafting a position paper on where they stood at that particular point; (2) exploring the nature of present and future relationships between Native Americans and the University; (3) funding from private sources so that Native Americans might be independent of the OSS; and (4) an alternative place or institution for the program. These were possibilities for discussion, he felt. There would be no fixed format.

The meeting was held on October 30, 1972. Several of the preceding issues came up. However, the Native American leaders present were not impressed with what was said. They were angry and let it be know why they were. What some might have hoped would be a rational discussion of the issues turned increasingly into an outpouring of strong feelings by Native Americans. They were not in the mood for "philosophical" discussions, as one later put it. It

soon became apparent that such a group meeting was prone to confrontation and the continuation of conflict rather than its resolution. Thereafter, individual meetings and communications became the norm.

While feelings still ran high in the NAP, and alternatives were discussed and explored, problems in operating the program administratively on a day to day basis were becoming apparent. Many persons were trying to fill various roles; ad hococracy was cutting down on administrative efficiency. Native Americans also heard that their program funds were being redistributed to other units within OSS (which was not the case, as they were "frozen"). There was an inclination, then, by early November, for members of the Native American Program to be "replugged into the system." But they did not want to be viewed as "crawling back." And they wanted assurances or clarification on what future relationships would be.

Also in early November, numerous phone calls and some meetings were pursued between previously mentioned administrators and faculty. These communications in part concerned the NAP but generally referred to the whole of the OSS, its future, and the programs within it.

Two related but not necessarily dependent events emerged. First, an Advisory Committee to the OSS was established. Its duties were to look into the "present

structure and performance" of the OSS, develop "new designs" and obtain more "non-public funding support" for the OSS (Oregon Daily Emerald, November 9, 1972). This, then, represented the desire of administrators, as noted in the statements made by the Dean of Student Administrative Services to various parties in the crisis, to reconsider the nature of the OSS and the programs. But it also represented the view of persons other than administrators that the whole question of the programs and the University had to be looked at anew.

The project directors would not be on the new Committee. And various ones were extremely suspicious of its creation.

A second major event was the fact that the Dean of Student Administrative Services and leaders of the NAP met. They were generally impressed with his openness and his "laying things on the line" instead of "beating around the bush." Out of the meeting came the appointment of a new director for the NAP.

As reported later by the new director, the University had agreed she was hired by the program's students and that the right of the program to control its own budget was theirs, subject to the usual general guidelines of state and University. The University said that right had never been questioned in the first place (Native Americans felt

it had been.). Questions of administrative relationships between the NAP and the University and evaluations were left open.

The new director of the NAP said the administration was aware of the problems Native Americans and others were having in their relationships with the OSS (the drive of the Associate Dean to channel decision-making and interaction with other parts of the University through the OSS structure) and were willing to listen on this matter. Informal discussions with the Associate Dean concerning this had occurred. The director said that the NAP had received an evaluation form from the Associate Dean. (Receiving this so shortly after an agreement had been reached caused considerable ire in the program; some wondered if the Associate Dean had "received the message" yet or the implications of the Native Americans' previous actions.) But the director went on to say, there was not an immediate problem here, although the Native Americans would not reply to the form but base their evaluation on their own standards (A general evaluation report was sent in late December by the director of the NAP, mainly detailing the problems the program was having with the OSS during the fall.). The director concluded by saying that the integrity and identity of the NAP would be maintained; that the program would not be merged with other ones within

the OSS as it was reported that it would be and which the Native Americans opposed, even after they, Native Americans, had withdrawn from the OSS structure (Oregon Daily Emerald, December 1, 1972).

On November 21, 1972, a party was held at the home of the faculty member who had played a major role in helping to bridge the differences between the Native American Program and the University. Native Americans and the Associate Dean got together in an informal atmosphere. Jokes and views were exchanged as libations eased some of the tensions of the past. The former director of the Native American Program gave an eloquent speech on Indian values, the pride in being an Indian, how leaders rise in Indian cultures, and the many problems Native Americans had experienced in the past with appointed leaders. Discussion flowed about how the NAP might be remodeled; how new procedures and definitions of accountability might be established. The Associate Dean said she would try to relate to this.

The party seemed to take on the form of a negotiation session where, in a sense, a new agreement or treaty was in the making. The Associate Dean agreed to write up the advantages for Native Americans in being a part of the OSS. Native Americans would set up a list of Indian cultural values and rights which were inviolable; there would be a

consideration of trying again to more closely approximate a tribal model in the program. Apparently the Dean of Student Administrative Services was to make clear for what uses federal funds could be employed. He was receptive to their request for a "long house" or cultural center. And the putting together of these items would offer the possibility for a more permanent arrangement between Native Americans and the University.

As it was, even after the party was over, Native Americans strongly held to their positions and had a wait and see attitude as to the future. The Associate Dean agreed to drop in more often at the quarters of the NAP. (There was a return to Fenton Hall shortly after this.) The Associate Dean had not come around earlier to the programs, including the Native American, she said because of the desire to avoid the appearance of being pushy and an inspector general. But others remembered that the Associate Dean's role was to have been one of "shaking up and controlling" the programs. So the Native Americans' suspicions of the Associate Dean remained. Future events and actions would tell. Their opinion of the Dean of Student Administrative Services was very high. As for the others higher in the structure of the University, distrust and suspicion were still strong.

Native Americans benefitted as a result of the crisis

to the extent that they banded together as never before; they proved their independence; they became more solidified as a community on campus; and they had a sense that they were on the cutting edge of the Indian movement, seeing their struggle in light of the events in Washington, D.C. and the sit-in at Adair Air Force Base near Corvallis.

Their loss was expressed in terms of students, according to one Native American leader. Those who dropped out, and those who were denied the complete level of services that a fully operant program would have offered. There was some bitterness in these recollections, that it had been necessary to make important points with the administration at these costs.

For the administration, a dangerous crisis had been eased. It was apparent that the efforts of the new Associate Dean were not wholly successful; that attempts at "shaking up and controlling" the programs was engendering conflicts beyond expected levels. Other parties were watching the conflict. Concern was expressed within higher administration circles about the Board of Higher Education (certain members in particular) and the Chancellor's Office, not to mention the federal government.

The central role in defusing the crisis fell to the Dean of Student Administrative Services. He moved front and center, replacing the Associate Dean, who was

increasingly becoming a liability. It was the Dean of Student Administration Services who vetoed the Associate Dean's decision to make one project director reapply for his position because he did not have a degree (an attempt to replace or control the director was the apparent original intent). It was the Dean who said that he would control fiscal or budgetary matters relative to the programs for the year, not the Associate Dean (the program directors saw the latter as trying to control their budgets as part of a pattern of emerging control by the Associate Dean). He assured the programs that their budgets were now their own and the rules of the past would obtain relative to them. This is further demonstrated in that he acted, not the Associate Dean, to approve the new director of the NAP and assure Native Americans that they would control their own budget.

The administration in the past had always had the final say on who the project directors would be (even though "nominated" by the programs themselves) and on budgets. But the Associate Dean had closed the gap between generalized rules and informal procedures; the introduction of personalistic and role-interpretation factors seemed to come together and imply that the Associate Dean would in essence hire and fire directors and control budgets through the co-signing of requisitions. This closing of the

general and informal procedures toward specificity and formalism implied centralization and power in the Associate Dean's hands and its loss by the directors of the programs.

Through their resistance to the role-interpretations of the Associate Dean, Native Americans, and others, forced the Dean of Student Administrative Services to redefine or reduce the role of the Associate Dean and increase his own to the extent that he now assumed the role that the Vice President of Student Services had had relative to the programs the previous year (a role which the latter had tried to directly divest himself of by the reorganization in the summer of 1972, thereby creating an indirect and more insulated relationship by putting a Dean and Associate Dean between his office and the programs in OSS). From the administration's viewpoint this was a setback; it was expected that the Associate Dean would be more effective than it turned out in realigning relations with the programs and the administration and that the role of the Dean of Student Administrative Services would merely monitor the programs through the new administrative position of Associate Dean. In brief, the administration was not substantially closer toward its goal of finding someone who would directly administer through the Office of Supportive Services. That central office remained weak. And only the intervention of the Dean from above was able

to make it functional. Thus, through an assertion of his role, things held together and a compromise was worked out.

From the viewpoint of the Native Americans, and others, this returned some of the self-control space that had existed previously; and there was also the feeling that there was a center they could turn to which would be a point of articulation and which would "short circuit" the bureaucratic level of the OSS and its Associate Dean. In brief, it appeared that there was some return to a weaker central office and the ability to relate to the person at the top as the programs had related to the Vice President of Student Services the previous year.

However, while the Dean was able to temporarily restore some confidence and rapport between the programs and the administration by his personal intervention in the crisis, there was a second step that implied that the administration still wanted a more effective central office which would insulate the Dean from unilateral pressures and assure greater administrative checks on the programs. That is where the Advisory Committee to the OSS came in. This committee was to look into the current structure of the OSS and consider "new designs" for it. Thus, while on the one hand apparently restoring the status quo, the Dean of Student Administrative Services' call for changes in the OSS, communicated to directors and others in the crisis,

was realized in the creation of the Advisory Committee.

Proponents of the programs and their demands for retaining program autonomy may have viewed the committee as an opportunity to restructure things to assure the maintenance of that autonomy, while correcting certain problems apparent to all. However, the committee could also become a vehicle through which the administration tried once again to revitalize the central office over the programs. Some program directors saw this as a possibility as the crisis of the fall of 1972 apparently ended.

## CHAPTER V

## BACKGROUND FORCES IN THE OREGON CRISIS

The question of who would appoint the director of the NAP was an immediate cause of action, an "accelerator" (Johnson 1966:91) which brought to a head long-standing positions and problems. Other forces were operative in the months and years prior to the abolition of the NAP. These are considered herein as follows: (1) The origin and early development of the NAP; (2) The spring of 1972 when resistance was developed by programs in OSS to HEW's demand for greater centralization of student disadvantaged programs and the University of Oregon failed to obtain renewed federal funding for its five programs; (3) Summer of 1972 when events led to an administrative restructuring of the OSS and appointment of a new director, movements that mark an attempt to further centralize the OSS's operations; and (4) The fall of 1972 when events set the stage for a self-determination vs. centralization issue for the NAP in such areas as leadership, budget-control, evaluations, and freedom to administer the program.

History of the Native American Program  
at the University of Oregon

Indians in the fall of 1972 harked back to the origins

of the Native Americans' organizational presence on campus, to a time when there were minimal ties and accountability to the University. They indicated their readiness to return to this voluntaristic phase if their differences with the University went unresolved. Further, this phase of program development influenced Native American perceptions of their relationships with the University prior to, during, and subsequent to the crisis in the fall of 1972.

On the Oregon campus in 1968-1969, there were two pre-college programs (Upward Bound and High School Equivalency Program), but there was only one ongoing (enrolled) disadvantaged student program for most of that academic year. This program was called Project 75. It was initiated by the Black Student Union to recruit Black high school students and provide supportive services (University of Oregon 1971: 3). There were a small number of Indians in it. The University's proposal to the federal government in 1970 (University of Oregon 1970:7) showed (Table 3) the following ethnic breakdown for Project 75 in 1968-1969.

TABLE 3

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF PROJECT 75 STUDENTS AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON 1968-1969

<u>Ethnic Category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Black American	53	72.6
Caucasian American	16	21.9
Native American	4	5.5
Total	73	100.0

Thus there were few Indians and a complete absence of Chicanos in Project 75. Further, the program was founded by Blacks, largely Black in its membership, and had a Black director. An informant said the Black director admitted he did not understand the Indians in the program.

Of central importance to Native Americans (and Chicanos) in 1968-1969 was the desire to have their own supportive services program and identity, as opposed to one which was viewed as geared toward the needs and aspirations of another ethnic group. Second, they wanted their fair share of the financial aid available for programs and minorities. Third, they wanted to recruit more Indian students and organize those resident on campus. Finally, they wanted to provide cultural group supports and academic supportive services, such as tutoring and counseling, to help Indians adapt to the college environment.

In the fall of 1968, Indian students organized the Native American community on campus in the form of the Native American Student Union. Community and organizational development proceeded on a voluntary basis. This has been described as follows (Native American Program 1971b;1):

In the fall of 1968, twenty-three Native Americans on the University of Oregon campus and six from Oregon State University organized themselves. Their first concerns were to identify other Indians, discuss all their problems they had, and make plans on how they could better their situation.

Thus Indians, as did Chicanos, organized themselves into a student union during 1968-1969; and, following the example of the Black Student Union, in the spring of 1969 pushed for their own supportive services program. This occurred when Indian students hosted a well attended Pow-Wow in the spring of 1969 and shortly thereafter negotiated with other minority groups for admission slots and financial aid packets to recruit and bring more Native Americans to campus (Ibid.).

Native Americans and Chicanos pointed to how they went out and recruited students and obtained funds for the emerging supportive services programs in 1969. Thus in an article used to demonstrate this:

Sesamex (Spanish-English Speaking American

Mexicans) and Speelyi O-otam (Native American Students) were initiated by University of Oregon minority students and launched in the spring of 1969 in order to introduce more Mexican-American and American Indian students to the University.

Led by Dick Wilson and Felipe Caneda, graduate students and Alfonso Cabrera, a junior, the small but determined group of student recruiters spent the 1969 spring and summer searching throughout the state for minority youth earnestly desiring a college education.

The U of O recruiters had no funds allotted to their project, so the recruiting drive was conducted with borrowed cars and some of their own money.

Both Sesamex and Speelyi O-otam are conducting a fund raising campaign to secure finances for recruiting, counseling, and tutoring Indian and Apanish-American students, primarily from Oregon. Interested individuals wishing to support the program may do so by sending checks to Sesamex or Speelyi O-otam, University of Oregon Development Fund, University of Oregon... ("SESAMEX, Speelyi O-otam Show the Way for Minority Students," Seattle Post Intelligencer, June 26, 1970).

For the 1969-1970 academic year, Native Americans continued to develop their supportive services program. With students recruited during the spring and summer of 1969, the new Native American Program operated with a voluntary director, obtained resources, and provided cultural and academic supportive services to the Indian community on campus. In the absence of one structure through which it had to go in order to obtain resources, assistance, and services, the NAP drew upon a multiplicity of University systems and resources (Native American Program 1971b:1).

In the proposal to the federal government in 1970, a general picture on the state of Native American and Chicano program development in 1969-1970 is presented as follows (University of Oregon 1970:6):

Sesamex and Speelyi O-otam came into existence in the spring of 1969. The initial efforts of the programs were to introduce more Mexican-American and Native American students to the University. As a result of the spring and summer recruitment, 22 Sesamex students and 18 Speelyi O-otam students are now enrolled in the University. The programs are designed to recruit and provide supportive services to these students.

Speelyi O-otam is open to any Native American resident of Oregon regardless of his status with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and in this sense differs from any other Native American program in Oregon. The program depends upon Project Advantage funds (A footnote on this page explains that "Project Advantage is a student/faculty committee, appointed by the President, to allocate funds donated by student and faculty drives.") as well as help from Student Community Projects and receives no support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Elsewhere in the proposal (Ibid.:19), under a section dealing with problems of disadvantaged programs at the University of Oregon, the following statement is found: "Speelyi O-otam and Sesamex are new this year and have not received significant institutional contributions. We need to provide funds to these programs for supportive services."

Native Americans felt that their effort was the main force in moving forward Indian organization on the campus. Thus as one person wrote in a monograph while working in the

NAP (DeGross 1971:1):

Virtually none of the so-called 'Indian Studies' programs which now operate in the colleges and universities of the Northwest do so because governments and/or the institution recognize the legitimacy of Indian needs. Such recognition has come only after some kind of program was an accomplished fact, an outgrowth of the drives and ambitions of Indians already resident in the institution. Thus, institutions and governments have 'reacted to' rather than 'planned for' the presence of Indians at the scene of higher education.

Indian students saw the period from 1968-1970 as a phase of development and contact with the University wherein they organized and created a self-determining Indian community on campus in the form of the NASU. Through it was created the NAP to promote Indian student adaptation to the college environment, and at the same time to maintain and develop Indian group unity through interactions, symbols, and the values of "Indianness." To Native Americans it was a period where through their own hunting and gathering they garnered NAP resources and were not included in the University's budget. It was a time where they did their own recruiting of Indian students, developed Native American organization, and provided supportive services. And thus, it was a situation where Indian-direction, voluntarism, and effort launched and expanded the NAP into a viable operation before the University's funding request to the federal government and the subsequent establishment

of the OSS.

This informal period of NAP contact with the University is important for several reasons. First, it shaped certain assumptions about the NAP. One assumption was that the NAP was an exercise in Native American self-education, self-government, and culture-building on campus. Indians, as individuals, and as a group, were seen as responsible for their own education rather than external systems. Self-government was to be promoted by organizational forms and decisional processes which modeled those in traditional Indian cultures, and at the same time by trying to externally select and control relationships outside of the program which might undermine Indian group sovereignty, self-education, and culture-building. Development of a cultural group and cultural awareness was to come from the NASU and be emphasized within the NAP; and Indian cultural development as a group would promote acculturation to the University. This was emphasized quite early in the history of the program:

The development of the program shall coincide directly with the cultural development of the student population as individuals and as a group. Those cultural problems associated with academic processes shall be resolved by the working relationships of peers, group leader, and counselors in that order. Cultural awareness shall be used as a positive force toward academic achievement (Native American Program 1970<sub>b</sub>:1).

A second assumption was that the NASU as the organized

tribal community on campus initiated the NAP and continued to have an important voice in its affairs. Thus, there was an organic relationship between the two. One example of the NASU's influence on NAP development was put as follows:

The Native American population, as reflected by the views of the respective student union, shall make structural changes within the program.

The organizational patterns emerging from the union shall be gradually implemented into the program structure. Thus, we shall look forward to structural development suited to the administrative needs of Native Americans (Ibid.).

In its statement to the Associate Dean (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2), the NASU claimed to be the "controlling body of the Native American Program." Here was an assertion of tribal sovereignty which argued that before entering into certain relationships with the University, before submitting to an educational contract situation as part of the OSS, Indian students through the NASU created the NAP. The original sovereignty and right to self-determination remained unalienable, ready to be reasserted when certain understandings or agreements between the University and Native Americans appeared as violations to the latter. The NAP was seen as a creature of the socio-cultural presence of Native American students on campus from its original organizational base, NASU. And, therefore, when the relationship between Indians and the University became destructive of the contracted bases of understanding, the NASU had

the right to alter or abolish what it had created.

And third, the assumption was made that administration or governance of the NAP would follow the principles of tribal or group sovereignty internally and externally so far as administrative status-roles were concerned. This means that the decision-making process was one of group consensus, not derived from a single or set of bureaucratic and rationalized authority-based status-roles; that those in formal leadership or administrative roles within the program were to take their cues from the group, not as role-incumbents in a line-staff organizational model imposed from the outside; and though there existed a formal set of administrative roles within the program, these roles and incumbents operated more to further the aims of the NAP's members as a group and the Indian community as a whole on campus as represented by the NASU rather than those of external structure to which the NAP might be organizationally linked. This was succinctly put as follows regarding the directorship of the NAP when operating under the OSS:

Remain an advocate for Native American students in dealing with the Office of Support Services and other administrators. Shall be an employee of Native American students and not the University of Oregon (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:19).

Therefore, in the administration of the NAP, rigid line-staff relationships were to be avoided. Roles were not to

be defined in a professional manner (e.g., "A professional orientation would be a degeneracy back to all the bureaucracies holding back the Native American communities," (Native American Program 1970<sub>b</sub>:1). External structures might expect and define certain functions and corresponding roles for the program and its administrators. But these external demands and expectations would always have to be mediated through the paramount needs, expectations, and directives of the NAP members and the Indian community on campus.

Also to be noted during this period is the fact that the NAP established the precedent of utilizing many University systems to achieve its goals. Thus, it had a loosely articulated relationship to the University. The precedent is established of not going through one structure to reach other University systems, of being free to select and choose relationships with service units of the University, and relating to the administration on an informal basis. In addition, the NAP during this period possessed a high degree of autonomy as a socio-cultural system relative to the University.

These assumptions about the NAP and the types of relationships established with the University prior to joining the OSS continued to shape and influence NAP members' perceptions and group adaptations during the more formal

period under the OSS and through other transformations in the organization of cultural diversity by the University.

### Spring 1972

In the spring of 1972, the University of Oregon was re-applying for renewed federal funding of its five student disadvantaged programs in OSS. As previously mentioned, the University was feeling increasing pressure from HEW to centralize the administration of all its disadvantaged programs and undertake a more comprehensive evaluation process. The new tone being struck by HEW was succinctly put in its Application Information and Program Manual: Talent Search, Upward Bound, Special Services (1971:1):

In bringing together the 1970-71 Guidelines of the three programs of the Special Services Branch of the Division of Student Assistance together with the 1971-1972 Addenda into a single program manual (Guidelines) for the 1972-1973 funding cycle, all agencies and institutions of higher education eligible to apply for one or more of the programs described herein will be expected to link all programs into an effective functional unity.

Where two or more programs exist on the same campus, the Division will require a single Director for the 1972-1973 cycle; where two or more programs exist in the same metropolitan area, the Division will expect evidence within the proposals that local attempts will be made to coordinate unity among these programs during this coming program year, and that a functional plan of consolidation will be presented to the Division for the 1973-1974 funding

cycle. (Emphasis is U.S. Office of Education's.)

Consolidation of functions under a single Director or Coordinator will provide a major educational thrust for low income and minority students, and improve both the quality and the quantity of services that we can bring to bear upon the target population of the programs of the Division.

HEW's call for greater consolidation of programs for the disadvantaged had a decided impact upon the University of Oregon. "Consolidation" was interpreted differently by various persons when it came to specific organizational forms. But as the preceding shows, HEW wanted one person in charge of the coordination of programs for the disadvantaged (a "super dean" as the program directors called this concept). Thus it wanted a definite line of administrative authority and responsibility for monitoring the recruitment and selection of disadvantaged students and the provision of services. HEW's central concern (according to an HEW informant and numerous administrators) was one of better administration, defined as one of accountability which would result in demonstrable outcomes through evaluation.

The individual program directors within the OSS disagreed. They opposed the concept of a "super dean" or a more consolidated program which could centralize further the OSS and other student disadvantaged programs. The

program directors feared this would lessen their autonomy, powers, resources, and the ability to run their own programs. The general fear was that meeting the new requirements of HEW would put the five programs at the bottom of an organizational pyramid, divest them of program functions which would be more centrally located and directed (e.g., reading and study skills or counseling), and in effect, make them transmission belts for larger administrative units rather than autonomous ones within a decentralized system. As will be seen, the new demand of HEW for greater centralization was but a continuing manifestation of organizational questions and tensions relative to minority programs at the University.

Native Americans wanted separate funding of their program. They did not want to be included in the new proposal to the federal government. The University said, however, HEW would not fund separate ethnic or disadvantaged programs. The supportive services concept had come to be viewed by Native Americans as a means of categorizing them with other minority groups, forcing them to bargain and compete for funds, and in general reducing their autonomy.

Two HEW officials came down to the University of Oregon from the Seattle office in the spring of 1972. Numerous meetings were held with the five program directors, the director of the OSS, and administration officials concerned

with the programs. But given the adamant nature of the program directors on the question of a "super dean," the desire of the programs for autonomy and individual funding, general opposition to centralization, and the quality of the proposal prepared by the director of the OSS, HEW officials decided to fund only a Reading and Study Skills <sup>8</sup> proposal for some sixty-thousand dollars. Thus, except for the Reading and Study Skills funds, the five programs in OSS would not be on federal funds for the following academic year (1972-1973). The programs would, however, be on state funds.

As a result of the loss of federal funds for the five programs in the OSS, the whole question of the latter's purpose came to the fore. In the early summer of 1972, the director of the OSS was fired. When asked about appointing a new director, those program leaders consulted said that they did not want a new director. In effect, they were saying "abolish the OSS."

The director of the OSS was viewed by the five program directors as a person who was to transmit their desires and wishes up the structure, when they cared to use his office.

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Pre-college program (e.g., Upward Bound) funding was granted, but this did not relate to the five programs within the OSS, whereas the Reading and Study Skills funding did, since each OSS program could avail itself of certain services according to budgeted allocations.

Many times they did not, often by-passing him in the process as if he or his office did not exist. It was indicative of the feeling of the program directors that the office should not exist.

Earlier in the academic year 1971-1972, the program directors had expressed their dissatisfaction with the director of the OSS. They called upon him to be only an "acting director" for a three month period in an October 29, 1971 letter. After the three month period, said the five directors, "we will decide to continue or discontinue his relationship with the Office of Supportive Services and respective programs." And that he was to "take the majority of his directives from the program directors." The director responded to this by saying: "Not only do I have a responsibility to our funding agencies and, most important, our students. As Director of Supportive Services, to accept these conditions...would, in effect, be an abrogation of these responsibilities and a dereliction of duty in regard to the accountability to which they are associated" (Oregon Daily Emerald, November 17, 1971).

The director was to continue during 1971-1972 to have problems vis-a-vis the programs. Program directors viewed him as the administration's man, whereas they felt he should be their representative. He was viewed by some program leaders as being the first person to try to play the role

of "super dean." Some program leaders felt that he lost support from the directors by trying to play this role; and this, plus the quality of the proposal submitted to HEW in the spring of 1972, led to his downfall.

Most of the program directors preferred a direct line of articulation with the Vice-President of Student Affairs rather than an OSS or central office. Native Americans even preferred a direct line of articulation with the President's Office.<sup>9</sup>

According to several informants, from the viewpoint of the administrator with the major responsibility for the five programs (the Vice-President for Student Services), attempts to by-pass the existing OSS or to seek its abolition appeared to be an attempt to increase pressure on him in a unilateral manner or to escape monitoring by administrative checks. Given the diversity of his responsibilities, he would not (and did not) by himself have the time and resources to check up on the activities of the programs. With a weak director of supportive services, or with no director at all, the programs would have more autonomy and thus be less subject to administrative accountability. From the administration's viewpoint, neither a

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("Remarks," Director of NAP, at Indian Education Seminar, Oregon State University, April 30, 1972).

weak coordination of the OSS, nor the absence of an OSS was acceptable.

This was made clear by the Vice-President of Student Services after the firing of the former director of the OSS. As indicated, the administration did some consulting with program directors. But the resistances of the spring and the past were the same. The administration, though promising to consult further with the directors on a new appointment, moved ahead nonetheless to appoint a new person. As the Vice-President of Student Services said: "The directors, in the consultation we did have, refused the idea that there be a director of Supportive Services," and this meant he had to appoint someone. And that: "It all goes back to the question of accountability...The OSS director was the one person the University could look to for coordination of the programs, who could seek out funding, and do budget development, and provide the accountability that was necessary. Certain questions are asked about those funds...and state and federal governments' questions need answering." Therefore, "some guidance of the programs was necessary..." (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972).

If federal funding for the programs was to be obtained for the next year, if the upcoming meeting of the state legislature later in the year was to be faced with credibility for funding, and if the increasing inquiries (on the

state and effectiveness of the University's organization for disadvantaged students) of the State Board and the Chancellor's Office of the State System of Higher Education were to be dealt with, then some kind of organizational structure for disadvantaged student programs would have to exist beyond the individual program level.

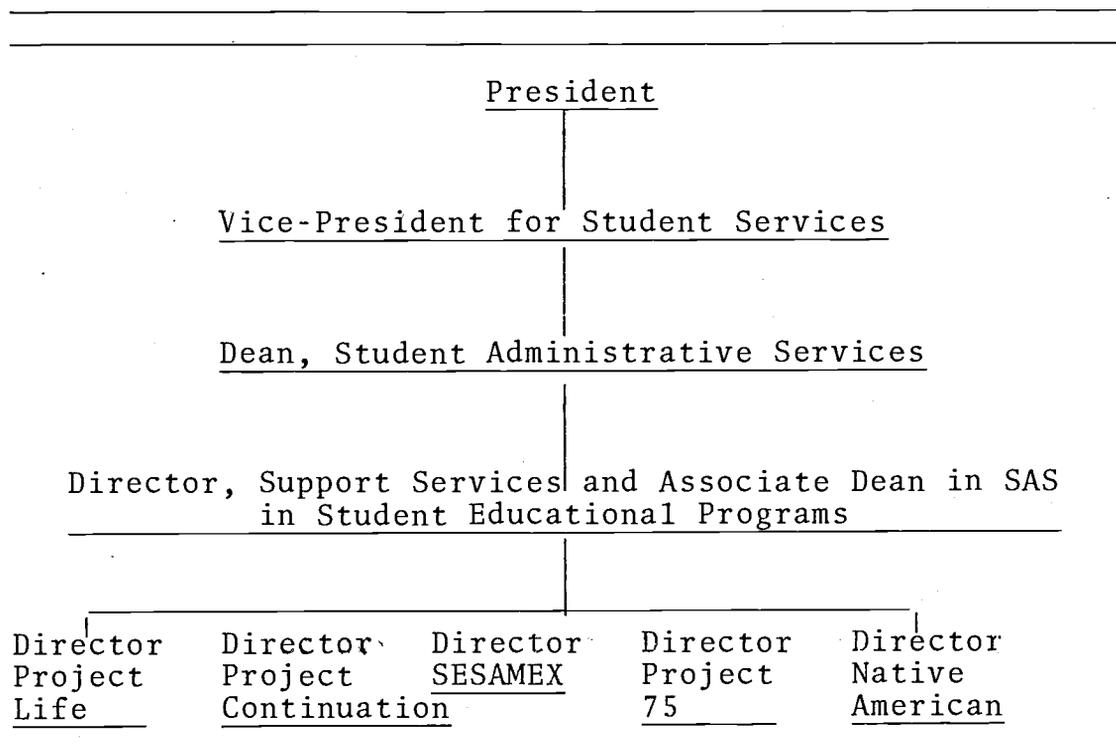
Summer 1972

Top-level administrators at Oregon felt that the extant OSS system lacked sufficient organization and control and that it was providing insufficient information and evaluation data to meet upcoming tests. Further, they had experienced the rejection of their proposal to the federal government during the spring given continuing lack of control over the programs. Thus administrative decisions were made during the summer of 1972 to reorganize the relationships between the five programs and the rest of the administrative structure.

The administration first reorganized the relationships between the Vice-President of Student Services and the OSS. This was accomplished by incorporating OSS into Student Administrative Services. In this division were found admissions, financial aids, the registrar, student services research, and student educational programs. It was in the latter, Student Educational Programs, that the Office of

Supportive Services was placed. The following organizational chart (Figure 1) shows these relationships as they emerged in the summer of 1972.

FIGURE 1  
Revised  
Organizational Structure  
For Supportive Services, University of Oregon,  
Summer 1972



Previously, the OSS director had articulated directly with the Vice-President for Student Services. But in this reorganization, a new Dean in Student Administrative Services was placed between the Vice-President for Student Services and the OSS. And placed in charge of the OSS was

a new Associate Dean in Student Administrative Services in Student Educational Programs.

When questioned about this reorganization later, the new Associate Dean said this happened because the OSS dealt most often with admissions and financial aids, both found in the Student Administrative Services (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 19, 1972). This was echoed by the Vice-President for Student Services, the person most directly involved with the individual programs in the past, even with the presence of an OSS director. The Vice-President for Student Services said that he had to go to the man who was now Dean of Student Administrative Services on numerous occasions for information on admissions and financial aids relating to disadvantaged programs. Therefore, this reorganization was simply to develop clearer lines of administrative efficiency for what already existed in fact (Oregon Daily Emerald, October 24, 1972).

Most certainly these explanations of the administration were valid. But there was another purpose as well. And that flowed from the events of the spring of 1972 and earlier administration experiences with the ongoing structure and relationships of the past, which were unstable and lacking in accountability from the administration's viewpoint. Another purpose of the reorganization and the hiring of the new Associate Dean, then, was to increase the

monitoring and administrative accountability of the five programs through greater structural articulation and integration within the established administrative structure.

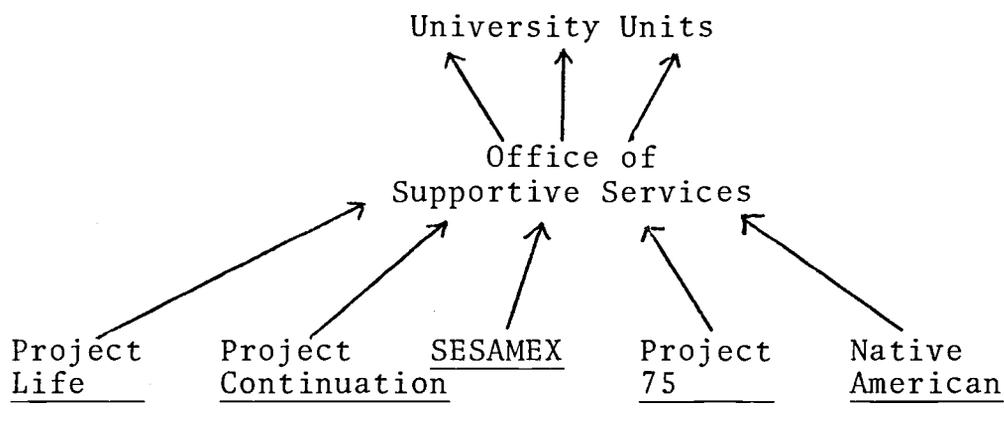
The reorganization strategy was designed to ensure a more orderly flow of directives down the structure and a greater responsiveness from below by the five program units. The Vice-President for Student Services, who had been subject to more direct pressures from the five programs in the past, was now more insulated. The Dean of Student Administrative Services could monitor the flow of services to the programs and check on their accountability through the Associate Dean.

The Associate Dean was expected to ensure sufficient administrative control and accountability from the programs in OSS. The new Associate Dean was given explicit instructions to tighten up the administration of the programs. The description of the OSS soon referred to "total" coordination of the programs by OSS (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>a</sub>:1), an adjective not found in numerous documents and statements prior to the new Associate Dean's regime. Or, as in a later document prepared by the Associate Dean, the OSS was referred to as a "common authority" for the five programs (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>c</sub>:1). New standards were to be set for recruiting and selecting program directors in OSS, thus involving more OSS control over

staff in the five programs (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>a</sub>:1). A detailed evaluation process covering all program functions was called for and had to be approved by the Associate Dean; and greater budget control was asserted by OSS as it related to the programs (Ibid.:1-2). And there was the attempt to channel individual program contacts with other university units (e.g., financial aid or admissions) through OSS. This is shown in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2

Administration Conceptions of the  
Functional Relations Between OSS Projects  
and the University System



From the Associate Dean's viewpoint, there had been too much independence and too little structure in the relationships between OSS and the programs. Structure would come forth. There was too much separatism among the programs;

there was too little interaction with the other parts of the University. There were too many students who were not being counseled properly, advised properly, and the result was that too many students were dropping out or were staying on piling up courses, using up financial aid that others could benefit from, and few degrees were being obtained by program numbers. These subsystems, then, were not putting out the products that they were designed to do. By academic, administrative, and standards of helping students move into and out of the University to work for their own community or in other cultural systems of the national society, the programs were not fulfilling their tasks.

In combination with these factors were previously mentioned considerations which motivated the reorganization drive. First, the desire to obtain renewed federal funding for OSS programs (which meant the University of Oregon would have to show HEW it had achieved "functional unity" in its programs). Second, concern with the views of the Oregon State System of Higher Education regarding the organization and management of disadvantaged programs at the University of Oregon -- there was much criticism levied by informants in the State System in this area and University of Oregon administrators were aware of such criticism. Third, the failure of the programs to supply information to satisfy the inquiries of these funding and control

agencies. All argued for pulling together the structure of relationships in order to meet important tests to come from other socio-cultural systems which had the resources the University and the programs needed.

For these reasons, administrators, including the new Associate Dean who would be the spearhead of the movement, felt it was important that a new tone and control be struck vis-a-vis the programs, their directors and students for the 1972-1973 academic year. There was the recognition that the resistances of the past might arise anew. But the price of confrontation was far less than the price that would be paid if the administration failed to gain sufficient structure and control in order to meet the demands upon it from other systems. There was the determination to fire directors, assert the power of the purse, to reorganize further if necessary, and in general indicate that the time was one of greater accountability by the five programs in OSS.

#### Fall 1972

Thus, a new mood on the University of Oregon campus was emanating from Johnson Hall after August 16, 1972, the official appointment date of the new Associate Dean. Across the street in Fenton Hall, the NAP office, there was another temper of mind. This is illustrated in a letter (Native

American Program 1972<sub>a</sub>) written by the then Acting Director of the program (not the same Acting Director as during the fall crisis) thanking an organization for information on Indian students in higher education and seeking additional information. The pertinent part reads as follows:

The existence of our program on this campus has been made even more difficult with the utilization of HEW funding and the regionalization of services in Seattle. What started as an Indian-operated program (a rather unique entity here) is daily being forced more and more into the bureaucratic structures lumping the 'minorities' into one group -- as they are easier to deal with that way. Indian self-determination here will be preserved only with a much broader base of information about the status of higher education for Indians in general and, especially, help from Indian leaders who have established viable programs on other campuses....If education is to save us, it has to be education in which we have had a responsible, meaningful role.

The views of NAP members concerning the fall crisis of 1972 will be examined in terms of the following areas: (1) NAP Relations with the OSS and New Associate Dean; (2) Budgets; (3) Evaluation; (4) Program Leadership; and (5) Further Consolidation of Programs in OSS.

#### NAP Relations With the OSS and New Associate Dean

In early September of 1972, a NAP leader made it clear that he felt the events of the spring and summer constituted an attempt to destroy the independence and autonomy of the NAP. He was particularly bitter about the appointment

of the new Associate Dean and the continuing presence of the OSS. The latter was viewed as a force for centralization, and it was seen as parasitic as well. That is, it was said that some fifty-thousand dollars was going to the OSS; and of that amount some eighteen to twenty-thousand was going to pay the salary of the new Associate Dean. The new director of the OSS was also contemplating putting on another assistant at a high salary, it was said. All of this money -- the OSS budget -- could be used by the five programs. But rather than do this, it was said, the administration had continued and revitalized a bureaucratic mechanism which simply ate up limited resources, complicated dealings with other University systems by having to go through the OSS structure for any number of things, and rendered nothing productive or of value that he could see. At a time when the OSS programs were strapped for funds, had to cut staff and services to students, it was said, the administration was increasing its staff, making it more difficult for the programs to operate by increasing red tape (called "white tape" by Indians), and forcing the programs to fight bureaucracy when their main concern and interest was in helping students.

With regard to the funds paying the new Associate Dean's salary, as well as supporting the OSS, the general belief was that these were state funds. Native Americans

and other program members within OSS felt that these state funds were theirs. That they -- students, program directors, and faculty -- had gone to the state legislature and obtained the funds for the University. It was said that they appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the legislature and prevented a cutback in these funds. And as a result of these lobbying efforts, it was said, the University of Oregon received a very large share of funds from the 1970 legislature that went for disadvantaged programs in the state of Oregon. Further, though the President of the University of Oregon did appear before the legislature, his inputs were directed toward the whole of what the University needed, while they, students and faculty at Oregon concerned about disadvantaged programs, worked specifically and alone in this area without administration assistance.

Therefore, the funds which were being used by the administration to support what was viewed as an expensive administrative apparatus in a time of need by the programs was bitterly resented. Students felt that they had gotten the funds, and that these state funds should be used by the programs for the students, not the bureaucracy. Thus program directors and students felt "their" money was being used by the administration to create, sustain, and expand something that the programs were opposed to, which took

financial resources away from the programs and consequently services to students, and which in general promoted a conflictive situation wherein the programs were having to fight for their very existence. As seen by the program leaders, the administration was beating them into submission with their own, the programs,' monetary club.

Thus, the whole OSS operation, the new Associate Dean directing it, and those administrators most directly involved with disadvantaged student programs at Oregon, came to be considered as acting in an illegitimate manner, and an increasing credibility gap grew between the parties.

As the program leaders and students saw it, administrative action during the summer of 1972 was a coup that occurred when they were not there to sufficiently protest it. The appointment of the new Associate Dean was viewed as an imposition and a violation of past practices. The programs pointed to the "Guidelines for Organization" section of the 1970 proposal (University of Oregon 1970:20) which said the following: "Selection of this person (Associate Dean) will involve students and staff with the ultimate approval of the President" and "It must be recognized that this person will be effective only as long as he relates to, and is felt to be an advocate for, the disadvantaged student."

As some program directors saw it, the actions of the

new Associate Dean were designed to "legitimate" her status and the OSS. But rather than this, there was clearly a deflation of legitimacy. And this was to be directly linked to a greater willingness to challenge the attempts of the new Associate Dean to restructure program relations and impose greater control. As has and will be seen, the very tone and content of the NAP letter to the Associate Dean bristled with accusations of administrative and cultural illegitimacy and what the true bases of structural and cultural obligation were in light of certain understandings.

However, there were other conflicts with the new Associate Dean so far as the NAP was concerned, one which involved a question of power, pride, and status. During late August of 1972, the new Associate Dean assumed office. The latter felt that the secretary of the NAP, who had worked in the OSS before and knew the intricate nature of the University's administrative machinery, was to be her personal secretary. The new Associate Dean formally ordered her to report to the OSS. But the secretary had been led to believe by previous administrative assurances that she would remain with the NAP. The NAP's members told the secretary she should not go. Here was an important test of wills so far as Native Americans were concerned. After being pressured to go, and equally being pressured not to respond, the situation was finally clarified. The

administrator who had assured the secretary she could stay with the NAP arrived back in town and communicated to the Associate Dean that he had said the secretary could remain with the NAP.

Another incident around September 1, 1972 involved a change in the manner by which OSS program directors and staff picked up their pay checks. The usual procedure was to go to the Business Office. Now the checks were routed through OSS, where the program leaders and staff had to pick them up. This was held, by one knowledgeable informant, to be an administrative move to force the project directors to respond to the directives of the Associate Dean. The initial reception of the new OSS director was one of indifference externally by the five program directors, an attempt to make the old role-relationships of the past obtain in this case. Some program directors felt that the new director could be manipulated as in the past. The new Associate Dean saw it otherwise. The action on pay checks was designed to increase new role-expectancies on the part of the program directors. This, however, simply increased antagonisms, particularly to Native American leaders, who said in their manifesto to the Associate Dean that things had "degenerated into begging for pay checks" (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2).

## Budgets

Also, in mid-September of 1972, budgets for the 1972-1973 academic year had to be reset, as the funding of the five programs ran out. It was at this time that the whole question of budgets became central. The usual procedure was that budgets were set for each program and then requisitions were made on the respective program's allotted amount.

Each program in the OSS received a grant of money from the university. This was based upon two factors: (1) a base of equalization and (2) the number of students in the program. The base of equalization was figured at a certain percentage of F.T.E. for a director's salary, a certain percentage for a Secretary III, and a certain amount for travel and supplies. This combined figure became the base of equalization for each program -- say eight thousand dollars. Then a per student cost figure was arrived at and this was multiplied times the number of expected students and the minimum number of financial aid packages guaranteed each program. Thus, if the base of equalization were 8,000 dollars, the per pupil cost 400 dollars, and the expected number of returning students ten and thirty the number of financial aid packages awarded, we obtain a budget figure something like the following: 8,000 dollars plus (400 times 40) 16,000 dollars equals 24,000 dollars for a particular

project. (General procedure described in "Note" as appendix to University of Oregon 1970).

Once the NAP, for example, had its budget then it was free to utilize it in meeting different expenses as were other units of the University. Thus as the same "Note" above (Ibid.) states:

...the University has developed a grant concept with our support programs for disadvantaged students. The programs have the responsibility for developing their budget requests, which are then negotiated with the President and his budget staff. Such a procedure is followed with other major organizational units of the University. When the budget has been agreed upon, the project director has the discretion of expenditures within his approved budget. Hiring and the organization of staff, purchase of supplies, and so on, are the responsibility of each project director. The University wishes to continue this relationship with each of its five on-going programs.

Now the new Associate Dean spoke of authorization. To Native Americans this meant that different classes of expenditure would have to have the co-approval of the OSS. Thus the situation was no longer one of a checking account or a savings account; rather it became a co-signing situation each time a program desired to spend funds. This was predicated, it was said, upon a desire to correct abuses in fund spending by certain programs and at the same time increase OSS control. As Native Americans said in their manifesto to the Associate Dean:

An intensive audit of all our expenditures

will prove our responsible handling of all funds allocated to our office. Minor disparities may be owed to our then inexperience with accounting procedures and not to our lack of integrity. The condescending procedure developed in gaining authorization for expenditures has now degenerated into begging for pay checks. We need control over our own budget as stated on Page 20 of the original proposal dated March 2, 1970. This need is based on time used and lost in merely obtaining authorization. Present procedure limits our ability to select and hire staff, introduce training programs, and spend more time with students direct needs (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2).

In the 1970 proposal (University of Oregon 1970:21) under the conditions of organization that were to obtain, the following statement is found:

Project directors will have control over their respective budgets. The University has evolved a grant concept with each program. More specifically projects develop budget requests which are negotiated with the University as do other schools and departments of the University. Project directors then have control over their respective budgets. Such a relationship between our projects and the University will continue.

Or, elsewhere in the same proposal (Ibid.:iv):

As will be pointed out in greater detail later, the University has developed a relationship with each of its programs for the disadvantaged whereby each project director has control over his budget with the normal restrictions of the State of Oregon and the University of Oregon fiscal policies. The majority of the funds under this proposal will go directly to our five on-going University support programs. They will determine within the restrictions imposed by their own budgets how this money is to be spent.

The Office of the Associate Dean will have

the responsibility of those monies allocated to that office. It is to be noted that we have developed separate budgets for the support of our on-going support programs and the Office of the Associate Dean.

Thus program directors were to have the budgetary autonomy that other units enjoyed within the University. But to Native Americans, it appeared that the power of the purse was no longer theirs. This was seen as an issue which struck at one of the centers of program autonomy. Therefore, Native Americans in their manifesto reasserted their understanding of agreed arrangements and concluded with this restatement regarding budgets (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2): "Control over all budget operations under our responsibility which shall be guided by our own proven judgement and cooperation with appropriate departments."

### Evaluation

Also present in the situation prior to the abolition, and referred to specifically in the manifesto, was the question of evaluation. The new Associate Dean had made it clear that the program directors had not been putting sufficient information into the system in the past or present relative to evaluation. That, indeed, the OSS itself was inadequate in this area. The new Associate Dean was dismayed to find how small was the amount of information on

the programs given the demands for such data by assorted agencies and inquirers. There were generalized progress reports that existed from the programs and by the prior director, with many lacunae in reports and proposals for given time periods.

There was nothing which approximated the demands of the State System of Higher Education, which wanted to know for its report on disadvantaged programs in the state of Oregon. In the form sent out during the spring of 1972, the State System wanted data on admissions and selection of students; student financial aids; campus environment; supportive services; student performance; and program evaluation. Within each of these, were more detailed questions (Oregon State System of Higher Education, n.d.). Also these type data were essential for evaluation of the kind HEW wanted.

These demands for continuing information were pressuring the new Associate Dean. And these pressures were accordingly pushed downward into the system.

The demands for information were resented and resisted by the NAP. There was the feeling that reports were one more burden that took time away from helping students. Given limited staff and resources, and the feeling administrative penetration had already gone far beyond the bounds of NAP conceptions of autonomy, there existed a general refusal to respond. As the manifesto said (Native American

Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2):

It has always been the concern of funding agencies to request appropriate information to insure that their investment was worthwhile. We have appreciated financial assistance and have cooperated in providing facts which prove our production.

But, when evaluations obligate time and energy to stifle the original intent of helping, we must reconsider the conditions for receiving funding and advise the funding agency that the evaluation process is a detriment to our efforts and their own.

We will cooperate with the appropriate offices to develop and design an evaluation which meets the needs of our specific population and resources and that of the funding agency.

RESTATEMENT: Design our own evaluation system.

This resistance to evaluation was to continue beyond the formal resolution of the crisis. Even after the appointment of a new NAP director, evaluation forms sent by the OSS were not completed. As the new director said: "We can't respond to their own evaluation forms...We brought out students here...and we will base our evaluations on our own terms....Evaluations and reports take time out of what the program does..." (Oregon Daily Emerald, December 1, 1972).

NAP officials felt that mere quantitative data -- such as grade point averages, credit hours completed, tribal affiliation, and the like -- did not adequately assess the impact of their system. Equally important in their view

were socio-cultural benefits which accrued to members in the program. And, above all, the feeling that the program represented an exercise in Native American self-education and self-determination. Thus, the cultural standards of Native Americans would be an important factor in the evaluation process.

### Program Leadership

As noted, a primary accelerator to Native American action was their feeling that the Associate Dean was dictating the nature of the program's leadership. In the letter to the Associate Dean (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:2), Native Americans stated:

Our right to select and hire our own director has been circumscribed. It is possible for us to negotiate and bicker for our own choice, but we do not need our group self concept subjected to a condescending procedure which directly implies our lack of understanding and ability to select our leaders.

RESTATEMENT: We reserve the right to hire and have final approval of our director and his staff unconditionally.

This situation was viewed within the light of historical situations where Native American leaders had been controlled and/or deposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Further, Native Americans pointed to numerous references in the original supportive services document. For example:

"It is important to note one of the great strengths of the University of Oregon's programs for the disadvantaged is that they are student directed and each director is accountable to the population he has been selected to serve"

(University of Oregon 1970:v). Or, (Ibid.:vii) in the same document: "The responsibility for selection of staff members within these programs has been the responsibility of the groups they are serving, and it is expected that this will continue." But, above all, Native Americans pointed to the "Guidelines for Organization" section of the original proposal which stated the following about leadership (Ibid.:21): "Leadership of University ongoing support programs will continue to be nominated by the respective student union groups out of which they have grown." This view is further supported by a statement of the former director of the OSS in one of his reports to HEW (Office of Supportive Services 1971:1) where the following statement is made:

Each director is selected by the students in his program, and once selected he has the responsibility of selecting his staff. In most instances, his staff will be students in his program, depending, however, on how much experience the student has gained by working with the program. In other words, his staffing will follow a somewhat modified 'new career' model.

Objection was also taken to the changing role of the director of a disadvantaged program under the new regime of the Associate Dean. Thus, a new qualification (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>a</sub>:1); under Project Director Job

Description) for project directors would be a undergraduate degree or "its equivalent." This was viewed by some Native American informants as a means of preventing leadership from rising through the ranks. But of greater concern was the listing of the responsibilities of a project director. The tone and scope were such that they seemed to imply far greater line-staff relations and administrative penetration of the programs. A few examples from the same document (Ibid.:1-2):

. Present a specific set of program goals and objectives to the Associate Dean for review and approval.

. Present a written specific set of evaluation tools to be used to review the project goals and objectives to the Associate Dean for review and approval.

. Present a written specific set of admissions selection criteria, methods of recruitment and mode of admission evaluation to the Associate Dean for review and approval.

. Present a written detailed preadmission counseling program, preregistration/orientation program for newly admitted students, academic and career advisory program, reading and study skills program, tutorial assistance program, student personal budgetary planning program, interest related college work-study job program, course planning and academic major and general graduation requirements program to the Associate Dean for review and approval.

. Present a detailed budget request in support of the program goals and objectives to the Associate Dean for review and approval.

Many of these items were of the type that the State System of Higher Education and HEW wanted answers to

regarding disadvantaged students. But, as one Native American leader said, if all of this were done, it would be impossible to work with students. All the time would be spent sending data up the structure or in responding to demands from above. This would be more paper work, more interference, and, above all, the reduction of the director's ability to run his or her own program. Constant submission and approval procedures were viewed as making a director a mere functionary of a bureaucratic mechanism and its need to satisfy other socio-cultural systems. In the process, it was felt, leadership as determined by the Native American in the role would be one of constant response to external stimuli rather than by personal role-interpretation and/or Native American group-direction and interpretation. This kind of line-staff conception of leadership, therefore, conflicted with role-relations and expectations within the program, given the internal emphasis upon consensus and approval by the cultural group as a whole. This attempt to make a "chief" out of the role-incumbent by administrative standards clashed directly with patterns of leadership and authority as they were perceived in Indian cultures generally and as operationalized in the NAP. Thus, the question of appointing the director was but a part of the issue here; the other part being the view that the very degree of role specificity

("professionalizing" it) diluted the meaning of leadership as understood in the past.

#### Further Consolidation of Programs in OSS

Finally, mention can be made of the discussion within the OSS about possible further program consolidations. In this case, the consolidation of several individual programs within the OSS into a larger unit. The Draft Proposal to HEW (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>c</sub>:12), under the heading "For Consideration," made reference to staffing changes as follows:

Continuation and feeder program & life and feeder program will become one director's responsibility.

Project 75, Native Americans, Sesamex -- to go together because of size and similar goals under one director.

This projected combining of the three ethnic programs -- Project 75 (Black American), Sesamex (Chicano), and NAP was viewed as one more attempt to destroy the autonomy of the ethnically different programs. Native American leaders did not attend the staff meeting in early October where this was first brought forth. They heard about the proposal, however, and this simply provided an additional incentive for following through on decisions and determinations relative to challenging what was viewed as a pattern of control involving budgets, leadership -- appointment rights, and

evaluations which seemed to undercut the basis of NAP  
autonomy and independence.

## CHAPTER VI

## FUNCTIONAL AND CULTURAL INTERPRETATION: GENERAL FORCES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON CRISIS

As an interpretation of the events involving the NAP crisis at the University of Oregon, this chapter considers two major foci as general forces. The first involves an inquiry into the adaptive functions of the NAP. The concepts of acculturational and enculturational functions are used to structure an inquiry into the administrative, service, and group maintenance functions of the program. The interplay of these functions reveals that the NAP is part of a culturally plural situation in the University environment.

A second area of interpretation examines this culturally plural situation in terms of the organization of cultural diversity at the University, in particular when the NAP becomes a part of the OSS. The Indian students' opportunity to maximize self-determination as a group through the NAP takes place within the context of other ethnic groups and the University's attempt to organize such differences. Traced here are the dialectical tensions between the changing nature of the University's organization of cultural differences on campus and the persistence of NAP members' conceptions of what their program was all about and which increasingly conflicted with the changing

organization of cultural diversity at the University in the fall of 1972.

#### Adaptive Functions of the Native American Program

The assumptions and practices of the NAP as a socio-cultural system and adaptive mechanism in both the informal and formal periods of contact with the University of Oregon can be more fully explored through an examination of its operations. The analytical categories of acculturational and enculturational functions are related to the ideological and organizational components of the program in order to conceptualize, discuss, and analyze its adaptive functions within the University environment. Basic to assumptions and practices of Indians at the University of Oregon was an attempt to maintain a self-determining Native American group through the NAP. This would allow for selective control over their external relationships with the University and for their internal group unity. In terms of the categories discussed, this means Native Americans attempted to selectively control acculturation and enculturation processes in a culturally plural situation.

#### Acculturational Functions of the Native American Program

Acculturational functions establish an external set of integrative relationships the consequences of which allowed

the NAP as a socio-cultural system to be adaptive in the University environment and achieve its goals. As such, these relationships derive from the systemic linkages between socio-cultural systems within given environments. Important processes such as goal attainment, decision-making, action, information gathering, and evaluation are involved. This external set of relationships of the NAP as a socio-cultural system also involved the necessity for a number of status-roles to carry out tasks relative to implementing goals and achieving adaptation. The incumbents of these status-roles, then, represented the NAP in the external system.

Acculturational functions can be considered from two perspectives: that of power or control and that of services. The former involves the administrative component of the NAP; the latter various types of assistance that help bring Indian students to campus and help them to succeed there. These functions can be summarized as shown below in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3

ACCULTURATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN  
PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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<u>Administrative</u>	<u>Service</u>
1. Leadership	1. Selection and recruitment of students
2. Advocacy	2. Orientation and admissions
3. Control over relations with other University units	3. Tutoring and skills development
4. Budgets	4. Counseling and academic advising
5. Evaluation	5. Financial aid assistance
	6. Curriculum

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Administrative Components. An important issue in the external set of relations for the program as a socio-cultural system were matters of power, control, and therefore decision-making. Role-incumbents in the external system were expected to be knowledgeable, possess certain skills and techniques, and be able to control and influence events there. In the case of the NAP, this largely focused on those who held administrative staff roles -- the director and his staff. They were viewed in a certain light when it came to the external set of relationships. They were expected to control the acculturation process, relationships,

and situation. They attempted to maintain certain kinds of systemic linkages while avoiding others. This represented an attempt to maintain certain boundaries between the program and other systems.

Within the NAP, the primary emphasis administratively was upon role-interpretation by internal definition and expectation. The program was committed to a pattern of organization that minimized role-differentiation and maximized a process of consensus through group interaction and direction.

The Native American administrative commitment to minimal role-differentiation, avoidance of professionalism which carried bureaucratic overtones, group-based decision-making, and selective arrangements with other University systems can be seen in the operation of the program in 1969-1970. At that time the NAP was a largely voluntary operation providing supportive services such as academic advising and counseling. The director was a volunteer and the staff assisting him were persons on work-study monies. The structure of roles was informal, the articulations with the University more open to Native American choice, and the need to record and respond to informational flows largely absent (Native American Program 1971<sub>a</sub>:1; Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:1).

In the fall of 1970, the NAP started operating as an

official program unit within the OSS. Administrative roles and functions of the program were more clearly spelled out and more formalized. That year there were two co-directors. Their responsibilities were to coordinate the overall program, deal with University systems for program members, promote program development through proposal writing and fund-seeking, community liaison, and be responsible for the program and students' successes or failures. There was a tutorial coordinator who brought together the supply of tutors and the demand for them; and a counseling coordinator who helped in orienting new students, academic advising about courses, professors, monitoring students' academic progress, and who was to arrange counseling sessions for students and help them if they wished to withdraw from courses or school. Also included were a secretary and group leaders who carried out projects assigned them by the co-directors. Each of these roles had one or more assistants (Native American Program 1970<sub>b</sub>:3-4).

Here, then, was a considerable increase in the number of staff and persons to bring services to students. And yet, there was the attempt to maintain the group structure and decision-making processes of a more informal period of organization. Thus, as reported by the co-directors in the fall of 1970 when the program was starting under the OSS (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:4):

The administration of the program has encountered difficulties in rendering services which require officious efficiency. The cultural aspects of shared responsibility and decision-making are inherent operatives in our program and we have been able to cope with most of the bureaucratic requirements. Training programs for new staff must receive the same cultural consideration before they are implemented. Administratively we have slighted efficiency for the sake of developing an effective working group. (My emphasis.)

Therefore, the NAP in a formal situation still attempted to maintain a set of cultural assumptions in the program regarding self-education, group responsibility and decision-making, minimal role-differentiation, and non-professionalism.

In 1971-1972, there was a further formalization of the administrative structure of the NAP. Instead of two co-directors, there was one director. He was assisted by three assistant directors and a secretary. All of the staff would assist in counseling. However, each of the assistant directors had specific duties. One dealt with academic advising, career counseling, work study placement, and summer employment. Another had responsibilities in tutorials, reading and study skills, and the monitoring of the academic progress of students. The third assistant director's role was one of fiscal management and program evaluation. The secretary would deal with internal office management, forms and contacts with the University units such as financial aids and the registrar, correspondence, and

the like. Each of these roles would have assistance from persons in the program on work study money.

With the failure to obtain federal funds for the programs within the OSS in the spring of 1972, there was a reduction in the staff for the NAP in the fall of 1972. Before the program was abolished, there was a director, assistant director, and a secretary.

The NAP, as with other programs for the disadvantaged at Oregon, was student-directed. Staff were students in the program. These were students who were going to school and at the same time working within the program. The NAP emphasized that staff would be chosen by the Native American community on campus. In particular, the director was viewed as a person directly responsible to and an advocate for the Native American students in relationships with the University and its various parts.

There was general staff continuity over the years in the program. The director in 1971-1972 was co-director in 1970-1971 and had an important role in the early organizational efforts of Native Americans on the Oregon campus. A series of acting directors took over upon his resignation in the summer of 1972. The new director appointed in November of 1972 came from outside the institution and was on a full-time basis. Nonetheless, this person's approval was validated first by the program members and the Indian

community on campus, and there remained the commitment to the idea that the role incumbent in the directorship was first responsible to the Native American student community.

In the fall of 1972, significant changes in the external relationships of the program occurred from the viewpoint of Native Americans. The appointment of the new Associate Dean to the directorship of the OSS involved for the NAP administrative questions in the area of leadership and relationships with other University systems. The Associate Dean's various actions were seen as violating Native American conceptions of leadership choice and role-relationships and the program's freedom to articulate with University systems without going through the structure of the OSS. Major questions of acculturational functions in the area of administration, then, came into conflict with long-standing assumptions and practices in the program. Leadership and administrative practices of the program were in direct contradiction with those being put forth by the administration in the fall of 1972. Greater structural articulation and integrative relationships by the administration of OSS programs brought together Native Americans to prevent what they saw as movements that were threatening the program's ability to select and control events in the external system.

Service Components. A second major perspective on the

acculturational functions of the NAP can be seen in terms of the various service components that related Indian students to the college environment. Native Americans underwent an acculturative process through the program which not only related but helped them to learn about and gain competence in the University system. Through its various services, NAP students learned about the ways of another cultural system and how to perform in it. The program recruited and selected students for its own and the University system. Thereafter, it conducted orientation sessions, assisted in the admission process, provided access to academic services such as tutoring and skills development, counseling, academic advising, reported on academic progress, assisted in financial aids, and worked for courses pertinent to the needs of Native Americans. In all of these ways, the NAP helped its students to learn the ways of another cultural system. Acculturational activities by the program in this sense are reviewed extensively in the areas which start with the recruitment and selection of students to the variety of services which were intended to help the student stick with and develop competence in the cultural system of the University.

Recruitment and Selection of Native Americans at the University of Oregon. Data on the NAP enrollment for 1969-1970, when the program was still a voluntary operation by

Native Americans showed that 18 students were served; but with the formalization of relationships under the OSS in 1970-1971, the number jumped to 46 (Oregon State System of Higher Education 1972:109). During 1971-1972, the NAP started with 64 students and had 38 by late April of 1972 (according to the Native American Program Director in his appearance at Oregon State University's Indian Education Seminar). In the fall of 1972, there were only 39 students enrolled in the NAP, a major factor being the loss of federal funding in the spring of 1972 which influenced the enrollment of students (University of Oregon 1973:15). These data are summarized below in Table 4.

TABLE 4

ENROLLED STUDENTS IN THE NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, 1969-1970 TO THE FALL OF 1972

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<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1969-1970	18
1970-1971	46
1971-1972	64
1972 (Fall)	39

---

The NAP drew upon a diverse Indian background. No one tribal group tended to predominate. Klamath, Choctaw, Siletz, Tillamook, and Sioux were but a sampling. This

tribal diversity was viewed as an asset, drawing as it did upon urban and reservation populations. As noted in one report (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:4): "The gigantic and pluralistic cultural background of our population provided a challenge and unlimited potential for the group to develop."

The NAP considered persons of Indian ancestry who were "North American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Alaskan Indians" and there was "No specific blood quantum required" (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:16). And it was "Open to any Native American resident of Oregon regardless of his status with the Bureau of Indian Affairs" (University of Oregon 1970:-6). The NAP also recognized the quest of persons with Native American blood to identify with Indian peoples even though "having had no experience with the historic poverty life styles" of Native Americans. This personal quest for identity was considered and the persons involved were judged by their willingness to promote Indian education on the campus (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:16).

Still, the NAP heavily emphasized socioeconomic characteristics in choosing students, since those who were from poverty backgrounds could receive financial assistance. Educational achievement was judged on the possession of a high school diploma or its equivalent and in part grades. Native American students could be admitted, as was true of

other support services programs, under the three percent rule is they did not meet the established admissions requirement (this rule allows up to three percent of a previous freshman year's class to come in during the operating academic year without meeting the established grade point standards and/or test scores). Native American usage of the three percent rule at Oregon during 1969-1970, 1970-1971, and 1971-1972 is shown below in Table 5.

TABLE 5

NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM THREE PERCENT AND REGULAR ADMISSIONS COMPARED: 1969-70, 1970-71, 1971-72

<u>Year</u>	<u>Returnees</u>	<u>Three Percent</u>	<u>Regular Admissions</u>	<u>Total</u>
1969-70	10	3	5	18
1970-71	13	18	15	46
1971-72	35	11	18	64

Source: Oregon State System of Higher Education, Programs for the Disadvantaged in the State System of Higher Education (Eugene, Oregon: Office of Academic Affairs, December 18, 1972): 109, Table 6.

Personal qualities loomed large in the selection process -- desire to get an education, maturity, ability to do academic work, and the potentiality of the individual in coping with the pressures of the University environment. The NAP traditionally

emphasized older, mature, and experienced students, giving priority to veterans, married students, ex-prisoners, and high school students who as seniors seemed to possess high academic and coping qualities (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:16).

The traditional focus upon more mature and experienced categories of students was emphasized as follows earlier in the program's history (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:1):

During the first year as a bona fide support program, our first goal is to produce and establish a stable population beyond the freshman grade level. The high mortality rate of first year students thus far leaves us with fourth term freshmen, a few sophomores, and two juniors.

To accomplish this, we shall continue recruiting transfer students, veterans, and married students. Our recruiting directly from the high schools shall be secondary. We have partly accomplished our objective as our average age is 22. Our older students are at present doing satisfactory work and the younger students are having adjustment problems.

The NAP maintained correspondence with various recruiting areas. Staff accompanied by students from the area or student recruiting when in his or her home area was utilized. Target populations or areas included reservations and communities in Oregon (e.g., Warm Springs and Klamath Falls), urban areas (Indian urban centers or Portland Public Schools, for example), institutions (Chemawa, Oregon State Penitentiary, or other disadvantaged programs in post-secondary education), the Oregon Coast (e.g., Coos

Bay), and states outside of Oregon (e.g., Washington, Idaho, California, or Nevada). Screening procedures included interviews and where this was not possible a personal letter of goals and three letters of recommendation. The Office of Financial Aid and the Admissions Office served as additional screening devices once accepted into the program (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:17-18).

Problems, however, existed in recruitment and selection. First, there was lack of adequate recruiting funds. Federal funds could not be used for recruiting. Second, the lack of a full-time, able recruiter who could establish the personal contacts and necessary relationships. As it was, program staff were students and/or were tied down with day-to-day operations of the program. Recruiting was also limited by the need of student staff to work during the summer (De Gross 1971:32).

The 1970 proposal to the federal government (University of Oregon 1970:18) addressed itself to the problem of recruitment as follows:

We have not used Boost (Talent Search) as well as we should have. Furthermore, some high schools are not well acquainted with our programs. The University should provide an introduction and entry for our recruiters to such institutions. At present each project director is responsible for his project's recruiting. Such responsibility is appropriate and will continue. Hopefully, however, staff can assist in providing information and coordinating services to each project.

HEW was in 1972-1973, putting a greater emphasis upon utilizing existing recruiting vehicles by universities, such as Talent Search, for disadvantaged student programs. And in part, the University envisioned OSS becoming more involved in this area through the community liaison work of one of the assistant deans.

Indians, however, wanted to control who came into their program, the standards used, and not be dependent upon other agencies. The preference was to have adequate resources and staff so the program could recruit and select students on its own. Control over entry to the program was viewed as equally important to autonomy as other areas which supported independent action.

Entrance and Orientation. The NAP also assisted in the entrance process and orientation to the University environment and community.

The program processed admissions and financial aid forms, made certain they were correct, and then sent the forms on to the proper offices. It also helped to process transcripts of students with the applications. Once a given student's forms were in the proper channels, the program monitored the situation. If there were any problems, then the secretary or other appropriate staff member was to follow-up on the progress of the situation. All student data dealing with admissions and financial aids was kept on file

in the program's office in case it was lost or for reference purposes. In all of these ways, then, the NAP facilitated the intake process into the University system.

It also assisted in orientation. This applied to registration and housing as well as exposure to the University campus and the larger community. The orientation program for the fall of 1970, for example, was described as follows (Native American Program Fall 1970<sub>a</sub>:1):

Orientation began a week before registration with the assistance of returning students and the new students were quickly acquainted with each other and the bureaucratic machinery. Students were housed in the private homes of Native Americans until they could be assigned rooms in the dormitories. Placement in the dormitory stressed Native Americans as room-mates and in the same dorm unit. Last year no arrangements were made to provide students a sense of togetherness in the dorms and this resulted in the isolation of individuals.

Also in the orientation session were the following elements (Ibid.):

The orientation week included the completion and evaluation of entrance and placement examinations. Upon evaluation, the academic advisor counseled students on curriculum, a service lacking last year. More control was exercised on course selection to avoid hard and soft courses a student may fall into.

An equally important event in the orientation session was registration. The NAP carried on mock registrations for its students. Also important was the existence of a registration table for new students. Here the registration

packet of the student was found, and there was assistance in helping to go through the process, getting stamped, and dealing with financial aid.

Orientation to the campus involved learning about different buildings where classes would be held, the book store, and the like. Acquaintance with the community would be held, the book store, and the like. Acquaintance with the community might come through new and younger students being taken by older students to a movie, shown the downtown area, and the more immediate business area around the campus.

Housing was an important service of the program, too, particularly in terms of contacting the Housing Office, having information on file about housing, or helping with problems in the dorms or getting out of them (Native Americans had problems in dorm adjustment as did others).

The OSS was more vigorous in the fall of 1972 in terms of orientation. The NAP, however, continued to carry on its own orientation session. The program generally sought to ignore the efforts of the OSS in this area, encouraging students to follow the lead of the NAP.

The orientation session and activities, thus, constituted an important part of the induction and initial adaptation process to the University and community as well as building loyalties to socio-cultural systems.

Tutoring and Skills Development. The tutorial component of the NAP was an important service to Indian students. Yet, this component was a persistent problem area for the program. Basic problems were (1) the quantity and quality of tutors, (2) coordination or bringing together student and tutor, (3) lack of sufficient funds for purchasing the services of tutors, (4) the evaluation of tutors, (5) motivating program students to utilize tutors more fully and effectively, and (6) finding tutors who could relate to Native American students.

The NAP sought to maintain a situation where any student who needed tutoring within a particular class would receive it. However, the quantity and quality of tutors was highly variable. Tutors were available from the Graduate Student Council, Reading and Study Skills Center, departments on campus, volunteers, paid tutors, ESCAPE (a campus organization which tutors within and outside the University), the Practicum in Marginal Youth in the College of Education (students here received credit), or the OSS (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:6-7). The NAP had success with tutors from some areas more than others. The quality of tutoring from credit-tutors was fair to poor generally speaking. The major complaint was that the credit-tutors seemed more interested in the credit obtained rather than in helping the student. The program found that paid tutors

were the most effective. In the case of credit-tutors, the program found itself with persons who were sometimes incompetent; and under a credit situation there was reluctance to dismiss them outright, often finding some alternative work for them. In the fall of 1970, for example, to overcome the problems of practicum tutors, the tutorial coordinator held a mandatory seminar for them. Given a shortage of funds for paid tutors, it was noted that "a reluctant move will be made to use practicum tutors" (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:5).

The task of the person charged with tutorial coordination involved balancing the supply and demand for tutors while maintaining a quality control check. There was a need to keep an up to date file of tutors, maintaining contact with different sources for tutors, and checking to make certain the student was using the tutor, while at the same time evaluating the product of the process.

A continuing problem was student use of tutors. In the fall of 1970 (Ibid.:2) it was noted: "All requests for tutors were met although students did not fully utilize them throughout the term." This was also noted in the spring (Native American Program 1971<sub>a</sub>:1): "The tutorial program was not fully utilized by students as the number of requests were low. Those students requesting tutors met infrequently and in some cases avoided help." During that

year, the tutorial coordinator was called the "academic bird dog" of the students. In order to increase effectiveness in the tutoring area and others as well, yet avoiding the "bird dogging" effect, the NAP in the winter of 1970 assigned a certain number of students to each of five staff members. These staff members were to monitor the progress of these students on a weekly basis. But the staff had "difficulty cross cutting the strong and numerous peer groups" and were therefore "reluctant to carry out their duties." As a result, the program leadership abandoned this setup because it "invaded the privacy, time, intelligence, and responsibility" of students, all the while recognizing the need to continue to identify problems (Ibid.:2). The problem became one of checking on the efforts of students and tutors, without the former in particular getting "uptight."

The problem of evaluating tutors was a continuing one. A number of informants stated that assistance from departments in the evaluation process and/or greater effort on the part of tutor-sources generally about the tutorial role (and some preparation to carry it out) would have helped in increasing the overall effectiveness, performance, and evaluation process.

Informants also mentioned the fact that some tutors had difficulty in relating to Native American students. While the NAP's philosophy was that tutoring would be a learning

experience for the tutor as well as the student, it found too often this was not the case. Discussions and meetings with tutors by program staff or the tutorial coordinator attempted to deal with this problem. The NAP was always looking for persons who had successfully taught Indians before, either on or off the campus.

The tutorial component illustrates the NAP's desire to draw upon many possible sources for assistance. It also relied on its own internal resources, older Indian students; but these tutorial sources were limited.

One source of tutorial assistance and skill development is the Reading and Study Skills Center on the University of Oregon campus. The NAP utilized the services of this University system.

During the fall of 1972, however, the NAP rejected its share of federal funds that went to the Center (each program was budgeted for so much, three thousand dollars in the case of Native Americans, that could be used to receive instructional and tutorial services from the Center). The NAP objected to the number of forms that had to be filled out, the high costs for services, the fact that the Center appeared to be a part of the emphasis of the federal government on the "centralization" of services for disadvantaged students (the concept that one place would provide a certain type of service on campus to disadvantaged students;

this to Native Americans cut down their freedom to use funds and choose sources for services -- it smacked too much of the consolidation and centralization they were fighting on other fronts), and the results obtained. As it was, the NAP hired its own tutorial coordinator out of Associated Students of the University of Oregon funds, thereby retaining the freedom to choose their own sources for tutors and skills development assistance.

Counseling, Academic Advising and Monitoring. An important set of interrelated components in the NAP were counseling, academic advising and monitoring. Ideally, program efforts in each area would provide information relative to other components, and thus the development of a more holistic approach to the adaptation problems of Native American students in the college environment.

Counseling as an activity within the NAP focused upon the social and personal problems of students. Early in the program's development, there was an informal approach instituted. This was described as follows (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:3-4):

Counseling Native American students with regard to personal problems and academic problems related to personal needs cannot be implemented as a formal and traditional sense. The historic failure of counseling theories and techniques throughout educational systems and other agencies pertaining to Native Americans leaves a small resource to draw upon. We have

avoided subjecting students to be singled out, placed in a formal situation, be expected to air his problem, and receive the prescription. Rather than maintain a single father figure, the staff and older students informally counsel with problemed students.

As noted with regard to the discussion on tutoring, when the program in the winter term of 1970-71 tried to increase its monitoring and counseling efforts by assigning a certain number of students to each staff member, resistance and resentment came forth from students. Such an approach did not work for either staff or students, thus reinforcing the belief that counseling should be unstructured, involve a number of different persons, and that a major responsibility for adaptation rested upon the student. This emphasis continued throughout the 1970-1971 year, but recognized that if the program could not help a student then he might leave school for a period of time and later seek readmission (Native American Program 1971<sub>a</sub>:3).

During the 1971-1972 academic year, the NAP again stressed the need for personal autonomy for its students in adapting to the University and avoiding over-dependence upon the program. If a program member had academic problems, he was urged to relate to the appropriate staff member in that area. For personal problems, all staff were available; but the student would more than likely benefit from choosing someone with whom he could relate. Social problems such as housing, drugs, or with the police were

of concern to the program as well as the student. Help in any of these areas would be on a personal and informal basis. Counseling might occur in any setting: from the formal office visit to the informality of the pool hall or the give and take of a rap session. Students were urged to remember that they were not alone in their problems, that others had gone through them and could offer insights which might help. Problems of identity, lack of motivation, goal-orientation, and a general feeling of being under pressure were cited as being common. Responses to these problems could lead some to seek relief through social drinking and drugs to self-isolation and consequently withdrawal from the University without anyone knowing when or why. But the hope was that by maintaining an open-ended and informal counseling structure, students would avail themselves of an opportunity to seek assistance from those who had been there and/or who could recommend alternative courses of action (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:10-11).

Counseling during 1971-1972 also addressed itself to the career choices of students and corresponding job experiences during the academic year or the summer. One of the assistant director's duties was to know the on and off-campus agencies and resources available in this area and relate them to the students' needs. A resource center within the NAP office was established and maintained

relative to occupational and academic career opportunities for students. The placement of work study personnel was to the degree possible to complement career exploration and development. Information on summer jobs would be gathered and thereby not only broaden the financial assistance base of Native American students, but it was recognized as a possibility for furthering career choices of program participants (Ibid.:4-6).

Academic advising involved relating knowledge by a program staff member to a student of the varying ins and outs of the general academic requirements of the University, departments within which majors were taken, the grading system, instructors and courses to be avoided or taken, and in general structuring a course schedule for the student that did not overwhelm him in learning to get the "feel" of the University and its offerings. Conveyed to students were classes, utilizing departmental advisors, and avoiding soft courses such as assorted practicums (subject to abuse by some students it was pointed out, in the sense of little work and easy credits) or remedial courses where they were not justified by test scores. The person in the role of academic advisor, then, had to know the rules of the University system, the agencies to contact (e.g., Registrar, Office of Academic Advising, or departments) to obtain information or facilitate actions, and attempt to make

certain that the student was not moving ahead in the system through the taking of easy courses or the piling up of credits through practicum courses (Ibid.:3-4).

Ideally, the NAP wanted an information and communications system between its group members and various University units which would interrelate and feedback information on program operations in counseling, academic problems and successes, and, therefore, the overall adaptation of program members. This was noted relative to the tutorial and skills areas of the program's operations.

This was given particular emphasis in monitoring a student's academic progress. The person in the role of academic monitor attempted to put together and evaluate a composite picture of how well the student was doing. The attempt was to relate tutorial skills' data, information from students as individuals, academic advisors, instructors and teaching assistants so as to show where the student was succeeding or failing and at the same time gain information on the assorted University units serving Native Americans. Students benefited in terms of movement through the system, the program learned of the environment in which it was operating, and the general data gathered assisted in the overall consideration of how the NAP as a socio-cultural system was operating within its environment. This component, then, was central to several others.

But problems arose when the person playing this role appeared to again be "bird dogging" students by checking up on attendance in classes and their overall academic progress. This delicate role called for avoiding students' feelings they were being "watched" and/or "incompetent." On the other hand, there was a strong emphasis here and elsewhere upon stressing personal autonomy and responsibility, yet at the same time making certain there were sufficient checks to make them operative (Ibid.:7-9).

Curriculum. The NAP at the University of Oregon was not an Indian Studies program which offered its own courses to students. Rather, its emphasis from the beginning was upon supportive services.

The program relied upon the regular curriculum of the institution. However, Native Americans did take advantage of "bridging" or transitional courses. One example frequently cited was the course in writing for Native Americans offered by the Department of English. As early as the fall of 1970 (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:2) the following was said about a course which consisted of Native Americans as a group: "The writing course offered to Native Americans provided skills, experience, and course structure satisfactory to the needs of students whose test scores did not qualify them for the regular writing. The group oriented work load also provided individuals with accomplishment

and self-confidence."

It was indicated that Native American students had problems in the math and science areas. They were also, in many cases, behind in fundamental skills development. But whatever the course, the general inclination of Native American students was to reject courses which were viewed as "remedial" and therefore demeaning. However, when a course such as the preceding writing course could combine content and approaches which Native Americans could identify with, and at the same time build skills, there was notable success.

Numerous informants, both administrative and program personnel, indicated that the University of Oregon had pursued a supportive services emphasis rather than ethnic studies. This was put as follows in the 1970 proposal to the federal government (University of Oregon 1970:10-11):

It is worthy of note that our minority leadership has not asked for, or been actively involved with the establishment of an ethnic studies program. Nearly without exception, these students feel that supportive services -- tutoring, counseling -- are much more important and that ethnic studies does not at present have a high priority; ethnic studies will be pursued when our students feel their programs are on a solid footing.

This does not mean that minority students at Oregon were not interested in ethnically-related courses which were viewed as a part of their quest for group solidarity and identity. Quite the contrary. In the case of Native

Americans, there was some attempt to influence the development of courses dealing with American Indians. The director of the NAP (at the Indian Education Seminar at OSU) indicated that the English and History departments had offered courses in this area, that the College of Education had offered a course on Indian education, and that some other departments were contemplating offering courses dealing with Native Americans. However, in the main, it was stated the courses were ad hoc in nature; and dissatisfaction was expressed over the efforts of some departments which dealt with Native Americans as a part of their subject matter.

In general, the major thrust for ethnic studies at Oregon came from the faculty. In December of 1969, a faculty committee was established on ethnic studies at the University of Oregon. It was composed of faculty and representatives from minority students on campus. On June 1, 1970, it issued a report. In the report, they recommended that a director of ethnic studies be appointed, that F.T.E. be provided to hire persons from departments in the University to teach ethnic studies courses, that the ethnic studies program be viewed in its initial phase as an enrichment effort, and that a certificate or major in ethnic studies come later in the program's development. Also included was the recommendation that academic advising and/or career counseling be provided for students entering such a

curriculum. The 1971-1972 Ethnic Studies Committee blamed "administrative delays" and the inclusion of the Office of Supportive Services' personnel in the process of consultation in the academic year 1970-1971 for not getting the program off the ground. But with added impetus from the President in December of 1971, the Committee was given a renewed charge to move on the question (University of Oregon 1972:2-3).

The 1971-1972 Ethnic Studies Committee "reaffirmed" the philosophical and conceptual framework of the 1970 report. That document recognized ethnic studies was important for minority students in their quest for identity and group solidarity. But it went on to state that ethnic studies at the University of Oregon must not be separatist and lacking in high academic standards. This was put as follows (Ibid.:5):

The content materials designed for an Ethnic Studies Program should be studied and taught within a framework of national discourse and reliable scholarship. Furthermore, the term 'ethnic' should refer to what kinds of materials are being studied, not who is studying and who is teaching. All courses must be open to all students and should fit into fields where their substantive credibility and relevance can be clearly defended.

Thus, the 1970 report clearly came out against what was viewed as the weakness of ethnic studies programs in other parts of the nation -- ethnic separatism, a decline in academic standards in terms of choosing faculty or in the

content of courses, and the failure to tie ethnic studies to established disciplines and areas of practice. Faculty concern about the academic quality and the place of ethnic studies at the University of Oregon was to continue and thereby shape the context within which the 1971-1972 Committee operated.

The 1971-1972 Ethnic Studies Committee stated that many new ethnic studies courses had been developed since 1970, even in the absence of a formal program. The Committee, therefore, recommended that a certificate in ethnic studies be given rather than continuing to merely plan for an initial phase in program development under the rubric of "enrichment." The certificate program would allow a person to take thirty hours of courses in ethnic studies. The Committee recommended an introductory set of courses in ethnic studies and then the pulling together of relevant courses in the various disciplines (such as anthropology, sociology, history, and the like). Thus, there would not be a major or minor in ethnic studies; the program would be interdisciplinary and would not create a new department but utilize the existing ones, with the exception of setting up new but introductory courses. The Committee rejected the idea of three separate directors or three separate programs as wanted by some minority students. Instead, it called for one director who was well-qualified

academically and who was preferably a minority person. The director was to have a 1972-1973 budget of 35,000 dollars, be appointed for that academic year, and initiate the program by teaching the introductory courses which could help students obtain a certificate in ethnic studies (Ibid.: 4-11).

The 1971-1972 Ethnic Studies Committee Report was approved by the University of Oregon faculty in the spring of 1972. The request for an ethnic studies program at Oregon was approved by the State Board of Higher Education in the summer of 1972.

Efforts went forward to find a director. None was found by the time the fall quarter started in September of 1972.

As the academic year 1972-1973 went on, there was still a director lacking. And, therefore, no program. Also some members of the minority communities were again discussing the need for separate programs. There were attacks upon the interdepartmental structure of the program. Meanwhile, two-thirds of the approved thirty-five thousand dollar budget was lost.

Native Americans at the University of Oregon expressed some interest in these events. The original director of the NAP, when it was a voluntary operation, was considered for the ethnic studies position. This person had to know

by June of 1972 whether the job would be available. However, the program had not yet been approved by the State Board. The latter did not consider the question until late July. Thus, these time considerations dropped him from the picture. During the winter term of 1973, one of the candidates for the directorship was also a Native American. He was later appointed to the position (Oregon Daily Emerald, March 29, 1973).

There was some feeling in the NAP that the University could have done more to increase the number of Indian faculty or staff in its structure rather than always turning to other minorities. This feeling came forth in the search for an ethnic studies director.

Overall, though, Native Americans continued to place their primary emphasis upon supportive services at the University of Oregon.

Financial Aid. A crucial element in the recruitment and maintenance of Native American students in higher education is the question of financial aid. The NAP did not direct or control its own financial aid situation at the University of Oregon. But it did play a role.

The Office of Financial Aid makes a determination in the spring of the year (usually April) about the number of financial aid packages it will have based upon federal funding. For disadvantaged students in the programs, the

directors in the spring of 1972 wanted around 170 packages. But they received only 140 given the resources available to the University. Once the programs were informed about the number of packages they could have, the OSS and the project directors bargained over who obtained what. Each program then received a ceiling from Financial Aid. A program could recruit the number of students equal to the number of financial aid packages it was allocated.

The individual program was to make certain the student was eligible. But the student applied on his own. Then the Office of Financial Aid checked to see if the student was eligible (based on a Parents' Confidential Statement of the College Scholarship Service). Each student in a program was given an identical package. This consisted of three parts: Educational Opportunity Grant (EOG), College Work-Study, and National Defense Student Loan. If the student was an Oregon resident, then the Office of Financial Aid tried to obtain for the student a "need grant" from the State Scholarship fund. The program students usually applied for financial aid after the State Scholarship Commission funds were closed off (usually in February). This was because they were recruited late. It was said that Financial Aid tried to get need grants which were left over or not used. The need grant, if received, was taken off the loan portion of the aid package in order to reduce student

indebtedness. Financial aid informants stated that their Office always tried to balance packages so that if possible the loan portion was smaller.

The Office of Financial Aid stated that it was committed to one-hundred percent financing of disadvantaged students. This worked out to where 25 percent of the students obtained about 75 percent of the grant money available to the University. A freshman student in one of the programs would get a packet something like the following: 1000 dollars in loan, 850 dollars in grant form, and 700 dollars in work study. It was said that if the University had received more grant money, it would have reduced the loan portion. And wherever this could be done, reducing the loan portion, informants in the Office of Financial Aid emphasized, they sought to do so.

In the case of Native Americans, they received tribal grants and Bureau of Indian Affairs' grants. But if a Native American student received one of these (or both), the Office of Financial Aid redistributed the components of the financial aid packet so that the loan portion was reduced. The Indian student did not, however, receive any more financial aid than another disadvantaged student in some other program. The total amount remained the same; only the bases were shifted. Persons in the Office of Financial Aid felt that Native Americans on such grants were,

therefore, more fortunate than others to the extent that the loan portion could be reduced. Before it was not possible to match B.I.A. grants with the EOG (all EOG funds must be matched with work study or loans); now it is possible for the Indian student to combine tribal or B.I.A. grants, EOG, loan, and work study.

It should be pointed out, however, that a number of NAP students and staff were worried about the problem of repaying loans. The point is that many Native Americans come from extremely poor families, more so than other minority groups. (As Josephy 1971:15, points out: "Their average annual income, \$1,500, is 75 percent less than the national average, and \$1,000 below that of the average Black family.") Thus, as "the poorest of the poor" Native Americans in college face problems even if they are able to obtain tribal or B.I.A. grants. The preceding "if" is a large one, since many Indians are not recognized by the B.I.A., and in some cases, tribes, and therefore, fail to obtain even this modicum of assistance.

Arrangements were made whereby the application forms for B.I.A. and tribal grants would be placed in the NAP office. At first these forms were in Financial Aid. In this way, however, Financial Aid missed many Indian students who were eligible for assistance from these sources but who were not formally a part of the NAP or aware of aid

assistance through Financial Aid. The NAP was providing services for Indian students who were not formal members or who simply dropped in there. By having the application forms in the NAP office, members and non-members could be identified as eligible Native Americans and encouraged to take advantage of the funds. Once the application was processed through the NAP, the B.I.A. or tribal agencies contacted Financial Aid to find out how much the institution would give. Then the Office of Financial Aid and the respective agency negotiated with each other, trying to get more out of the other. This left more funds for others, it was said, if the bargainers could get more out of one another.

Any financial aid packets not used by a disadvantaged student in a program, of those allocated, went back into a general pool, so that those persons of low income but not in a program and in need could receive assistance.

Though persons in the Office of Financial Aid commended Native American leadership, accountability, and cooperativeness, frictions were present. Some Indians did not like the fact that tribal or B.I.A. funds were counted in the financial aid packet. Others felt that the Office of Financial Aid should have a more knowledgeable person dealing with financial aids for Native Americans and/or one who was more fully specialized or involved with it. The NAP

emphasized bringing married and/or older students to the campus, feeling they would prove more adaptive to the college environment than those just out of high school. Some NAP leaders and students felt policies discriminated against bringing more married students to the campus, and the suggestion was made that a supplemental program beyond the standard financial aid packet be used to attract more married Native Americans to the campus (DeGross 1971:27-28).

Also to be noted here is that the financial aid area was one of the strongest forms of administrative control; or one of the places where the NAP, or other programs, was weakest. Recruitment, and therefore the size, let alone maintenance of members, was highly dependent upon the amount of financial aid packets and their distribution. It was comparable to a revenue source or tax base not controlled by the programs but by the administration. An administration move to cut off financial aid was considered as one possibility by the NAP in the fall of 1972; and it threatened legal action if this were done. But the administration had the power to allocate financial aid packages to those programs it recognized; and it was on those packets that the recruiting of program members rested. An NAP through the Native American Student Union, then, could have lost the privileges that went with formal program status. Individuals could have applied for assistance.

But under those circumstances there was no guarantee of amount or number of packets for Indian students, where there was within the system. By joining the system, then, Native Americans benefited in terms of greater numbers and organizational capacities; on the other hand, they became more subject to control features of the University system. Out of such a situation, ambivalent feelings arise given Native American experiences with administrative structures which control vital resources.

#### Enculturational Functions of the Native American Program

Enculturational functions establish disintegrative sets of relationships relative to the external system of the program but integrative relative to the internal operations of the system. As such, enculturational functions are those which in large measure enclose Indians as an ethnic group and thereby maintain a boundary between them and other socio-cultural units. In the case of the NAP (and the NASU) these functions reinforce Indian identity, interaction and values within the non-Indian environment of the University. These have been described as functional characteristics of ethnic groups as subsocieties in the face of the dominant culture and other ethnic groups by Gordon (1964:38). As such, they can be used as a means of further conceptualizing the enculturational functions of the

NAP (and NASU). These are summarized below in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4

ENCULTURATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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<u>Function</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>
1. Identificational	Native American Program serves as a source of group identity and provides sense of peoplehood ("Indianness").
2. Interactional	Native American Program provides structured set of primary group relations that can enclose members relative to other primary group relations. Limits structural inclusion at this level.
3. Valuative and Normative	Native American Program provides set of group norms and values that are based upon generalized Indian culture and specific manifestations of group operation in the academic setting. Also has selective effect on what is accepted in the external system.

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Enculturational functions can develop out of close interaction wherein Native Americans from several tribal backgrounds develop a sense of oneness and therefore Indianness

within a setting of the dominant culture: through ceremonies, pow-wows (the NASU at the University of Oregon has held annual pow-wows each spring since 1969), intermural games, social visiting, drinking, dating, meetings at the NASU or NAP office, having an externalized enemy as in the fall of 1972, or by structuring internal decision-making processes that build a sense of group participation and responsibility. In all of these events, there is the consequence of maintaining a sense of difference in status, relationships, and structure; the creation of patterned integration internally through boundary maintenance at the acculturational frontier by strengthening the sense of Indian community, values, and identities of the system's members.

The enculturational functions of attempting within a given socio-cultural setting to maintain a subcultural existence in the face of acculturation-assimilation pressures is not new. It has been noted for European immigrants (Handlin 1951) where there was an attempt to maintain an ethnic cultural system, identity, and community while undergoing acculturation. It has been noted among the Amish (Hostetler and Huntington 1971), Hutterites (Eaton 1970), and among Black Muslims (Eissen-Udom 1962), wherein Black pride and participation in the Nation of Islam allows for involvement in the external system of the white world

without losing one's connections and identity with the Black world. And, of course, it can be seen with regard to the Native American historically and contemporarily.

The commonality here is resistance to acculturation-assimilation (an attempt to control events in the external system through a process of selectivity where possible) which would weaken the ethnic group, culture, and identity. This resistance and control is manifested externally and is further strengthened through a process of enculturation which emphasizes racial or cultural factors of the minority group. The degree of success in controlling the acculturation process, the circumstances, the degree of commitment to the external system of relationships -- all have varied from one group to another. But all of these cases, and others, demonstrate one thing: that an emphasis upon ethnicity, an emphasis upon perpetuating it through enculturation, need not be simply labeled withdrawal, retreatist, separatist, contra-acculturation, and assorted other labels which imply pathological adjustments rather than adaptations. Ethnic and racial pride and participation may be adaptive, then, to the internal pattern and external pattern. Enculturational functions which lend cultural and psychological supports to Native Americans, for example, can complement acculturational functions of the Native American Program: one can participate in the University's

system and still retain one's Indian identity and values.

Enculturational functions were central to the NAP. Indians constantly referred to their program as an exercise in "self-education"; that this was fundamental to its existence. Within the context and definitions Indians gave this term, they recognized education and educational settings as places of cultural transmission. They recognized schooling as an environment which could endanger the existence of Indian culture and identity. They stated their desire to control their own education and to educate themselves through their own socio-cultural systems as to what it meant to be an Indian in higher education. There was a recognition that they were a subculture -- Indians -- in a major setting of the non-Indian world. Through enculturational functions, or "self-education," there was an attempt to maintain some semblance of Indian interaction, values, and identity. Native Americans remembered past historical relationships with both the federal and public schools, where these were in essence agencies of forced acculturation and deculturalization on the part of the dominant society.

That the NAP was a socio-cultural mechanism for allowing Indians to determine their own education on campus, and that it was a form of Indian culture in process wherein Native Americans could seek to maintain their culture and

identity, can be seen in the following statement (Native American Program 1971<sub>b</sub>:2-3):

Each year the Native American students change the philosophy and goals of the program. New people, new ideas, new trends, and a greater variety of opinions enhance the self-education of all students in the program. No one group of students can determine the lives and ambitions of the individual members. These people had dreams for many Native Americans and some were still around to see it happen. Much of what was still has validity.

Primary and long lasting was the wish to get an education, retain our Native American identity, and return to help our peoples. To accomplish all this we are to help each other to the fullest with each individual carrying out his share whether he volunteer or accept an assignment.

By continuously helping each other we find very few outsiders wishing to invade our concerns and dictating what our goals and life should be. If we cease to accept the responsibility for our own education then we can expect the same kind of help which has plagued Native Americans throughout history. (My emphasis..)

Or, as put by the then Acting Director of the Native American Program in a previously quoted letter (Native American Program 1972<sub>a</sub>): "If education is to save us, it has to be education in which we have had a meaningful role."

Similarly, the feeling that Indians would work out their own purposes and goals in the University setting through the NAP was put as follows in the fall of 1970 when starting under the OSS:

The philosophical basis of the program has yet to be realized. Ideals from 'red power' to

'just get an education' have transversed the goals and rationale of the program. We feel that the development and the sophistication of the Native American Student Union, the controlling factor, shall develop the needed philosophy. Native Americans experience individual identity problems and also as a group.

The basic assumptions of why Native Americans should be in college and the means by which they operate shall always be in question among those groups who find their traditions in liberalism, black poverty, etc., while we seek our 'own thing' our own way. The gigantic and pluralistic cultural backlog of our population provided a challenge and unlimited potential for the group to develop (Native American Program 1970<sub>a</sub>:4).

Thus, here was an expression of feeling that Indians should not be categorized simply within other minority education approaches. The emphasis upon the role of the NASU in NAP expressed the fact the student union would help make cultural inputs into the program. These cultural supports would help in terms of Indian students being more adaptive in the external system. Here, there was a recognition that education was a cultural process and transaction, with the key emphasis upon Native Americans having the right and power to choose and work out their own individual and group philosophies of what Indian higher education was all about.

On a number of occasions, NAP leaders and students made it clear in the fall of 1972 that they wondered if the "hassle" of getting an education at the University of Oregon was worth the effort. They, leaders particularly,

seemed to be saying that there was a real question in their mind about the value of an education which cost so much in terms of bureaucratic infighting and the loss of previously understood program perogatives. One Native American leader said there might be better ways for Indians to move ahead rather than through the means and/or settings of higher education.

Administrative actions in the fall of 1972 were seen as assimilationist movements which endangered the ability of Indians to transmit and select in cultural terms, as in the past such events had befallen Indian peoples. While the administration sought to generate greater educational outputs from disadvantaged student programs, Native Americans viewed this as unwarranted interference in their right to educate themselves and determine their own purposes.

Thus, the NAP can be viewed as a socio-cultural system that was functionally oriented toward dual cultural systems and the building of cultural competencies in each. The NAP structure had acculturational functions which allowed Indians as a group to gain competence in the University system through its various service components and through its administrative component to control relationships with external systems. The NAP also had enculturational functions, the consequences of which maintained

Indian interaction, identity, and values. Given the interplay of these functions, the NAP structure helped individual Indian students in a bicultural education situation; and given the interplay of these functions, the NAP structure operated to maintain a Native American group within a polycultural situation.

The NAP, then, was viewed as a socio-cultural adaptive mechanism which allowed Native Americans to obtain university education while still being Indians, having some say in their own education, some control over their own program, and the ability to maintain a cultural group on campus. In brief: education in the University of Oregon setting was recognized as a cultural transaction and process, with external and internal dimensions, but which together constituted the ground of educational choice and thus cultural choice for Indians in a contact situation.

Cultural Pluralism: The Organization of Diversity  
at the University of Oregon

The creation of a formalized interethnic structure of accommodation, the OSS, by the University and concerned minorities in the spring of 1970 represented the creation of a culturally plural system wherein the University and ethnic units were organized in order to promote minority education and assure the maintenance of ethnic identity and values. This structure of culturally differentiated units

is examined here as a system in terms of its operations and breakdown. Also examined are the University's attempts to revitalize the central office of the system and its relationships with the local ethnic units within it, along with the resultant resistances of the ethnically-based projects in the system to such changes.

#### Native Americans and Other Ethnic Groups at the University of Oregon

The American Indian, like other minorities, is increasingly asserting a new pride in his cultural heritage. Indians share with other minorities the effects of past racism and ethnocentrism as well as the changing forms of each in contemporary society. Nonetheless, despite commonalities, Indians are different from other minorities. The Native American alone possesses a unique relationship with the federal government based upon treaty right, court interpretations of those rights, executive actions, and numerous statutes passed by Congress. Of all the American minorities, Indians alone still possess, despite the great land losses of the past, a sizeable land base through the reservation system. Further, the American Indian more than other ethnic groups has resisted forced acculturation and assimilation. For all of these reasons, the Native American population has a status within the United States that is different.

In a culture which is heavily oriented toward a recognition of individual rights -- their promotion and protection -- the group rights of Indians are different. Native Americans have fought to maintain these group rights, cultural differences, and separate identity. They have demanded "the right to be Indian" (Schusky 1970). And they have in varying situations and settings sought to maintain that status and judge events in light of whether that status is promoted or weakened. Thus, despite the attempts of the dominant culture to view or place Native Americans in the same category with other minorities, Native Americans state that they are different, the reasons for those differences, why policies should recognize these differences, and act to bring about policies and relationships which retain and strengthen their status as Indians.

In higher educational settings generally, and the University of Oregon in particular, Native Americans have felt that too often their status as Indians was being ignored. Relative to higher educational settings in general, the following comments would seem to put the situation into perspective (DeGross 1971:3):

The tragedy of course is that in responding so well to the Black community, in serving their higher education needs, institutions tend to relate to other minorities as mere extensions or subdivisions of the Black community. They view Mexican-Americans and Indians as 'the same thing, only smaller.' Techniques and programs which serve Black people will serve those others as

well, they believe.

Thus, an issue of long duration at the University of Oregon was the desire of the NAP to be considered a program in its own right, to avoid being categorized and treated as simply another minority or disadvantaged program. This was noted relative to the inception of the program when the only college level supportive services program was Project 75. This latter program was viewed by Native Americans as founded, operated, and directed by Blacks. Native Americans wanted their own program.

Native Americans expressed their view that ethnic differences and identity were important in the spring of 1972 when they wanted separate funding for their program; they did not want to be put in the same general budget that was being prepared for the U.S. Office of Education. The increasing pressure of HEW for a more uniform program that put all minorities together was resisted. Native Americans did not want to bargain and compete with other ethnic units for resources, preferring an individual funding procedure that recognized their needs and differences from others. Native Americans felt that the supportive services concept worked against the recognition of their separate and distinct status as Indians; that this arrangement was not consonant with the traditional relationship Indian peoples had with governmental agencies.

HEW pressures for the universalization of services and a more uniform structure in disadvantaged programs were, of course, felt by the University of Oregon. To Native Americans, the moves of the University to strengthen the OSS's director were seen in light of these HEW pressures, an attempt to further treat all programs as if they were the same, ignoring ethnic differences. As the Acting Director of the Native American Program had noted in the late summer of 1972 (Native American Program 1972<sub>a</sub>), there was the feeling the program was "daily being forced more and more into the bureaucratic structures lumping the 'minorities' into one group..." Thus, in their manifesto to the Associate Dean (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:1-2), this feeling was made particularly clear:

We have always maintained a singular accountability and wish not to be held accountable to the trends and issues of a shaky 'disadvantaged student' boat. If the Associate Dean cannot comprehend, much less incorporate a cultured, pluralistic concept into administrative procedure, we, then, need our accountability transferred to another department.

Here Native Americans expressed their view that they were used to an administrative relationship, both historically and at Oregon, which recognized their status as Indians, one that allowed a special relationship given Native American differences.

But beyond the historical analogy were other factors on the Oregon campus. Native Americans did act in concert with

other minorities when a united front against the OSS or administration was necessary. However, numerous informants pointed to the fact that some minorities, Blacks in particular, were difficult to relate to at Oregon. Blacks were in greater numbers, held more positions of power (both directors of the OSS were Black), were different in cultural style (loud, aggressive, and domineering it was said) from Native Americans. The latter, it was said, wanted to avoid being put in the same programs (problems in Upward Bound were mentioned), feeling that in these and other situations Blacks dominated and controlled. As one informant put the Indian view of Blacks: "Blacks are viewed as whites who have learned to use the system better than whites." Native Americans also felt that if there were program abuses, they mainly stemmed from the Blacks. They felt that they should not be held accountable for the "sins of omission and commission" of others.

Further, during the time the NAP was abolished, Native Americans heard that others were seeking the funds which had gone to their program; that others had asked in so many words, "If the Indians don't want those funds, why can't we have them?" The administration did not redistribute Native American funds; they froze them. But Native Americans felt this merely demonstrated the rapacity of others, which they had believed all along. One Native

American leader also commented that some of the equipment in the abandoned Native American office had been taken. He said: "This proves how 'united' the minorities are." His general feeling was that these events again stressed the need for Native Americans to maintain their own independence and singularity. Other minorities were "ripping off" the system, controlling, and in general exercising a power within the University system that Native Americans sought to avoid.

Thus, to the charges of separatism and ethnocentrism, Native Americans replied in essence that they were not seeking integration as other groups were, that they were not necessarily a part of the same struggle as perceived by others, and that their own special status within the nation and their own differences from others called for a unique or special relationship with the University which could best be achieved by maximizing the opportunities for Native Americans to control their own program. An ideology which said that minorities or disadvantaged students were the same, had the same goals and enemies, all too often seemed to be a mere mask for a new form of dominance and control. For these reasons, Native Americans sought their own unique connections with the University system and with other minorities; and they resisted those circumstances which forced them into more consolidated structures or

relationships where the University or other minorities might control or dominate.

Therefore, a fundamental and persisting problem at the University of Oregon was one of organizing for ethnic differences within the University while promoting minority access to and benefits from higher education. The emphasis upon a special relationship as put forth by Native Americans, ethnic differences and conflicts, and the desire of programs for disadvantaged students to remain as autonomous as possible constituted for the University and the various ethnic groups a problem and opportunity to organize within a polycultural situation. The problems and challenges of cultural pluralism, then, were present in this situation as in other sectors of American society.

#### The Creation of the Office of Supportive Services

From the Native American viewpoint, Indian students had a self-determining program before entering into a contractual relationship with the University and other minorities to join the OSS in 1970. The program had been free to carry out relationships without going through one structure with a monopoly of controlling access to services; and the program's members had been free to seek their own special relationship with the University and to maintain their Indian status and cultural differences through group

sovereignty. Further, given Native American contact experiences with the dominant culture historically, particularly administrative or organizational relationships with the American government and its Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians were suspicious of and resistant to centralized approaches which forced them to go through one structure for meeting their needs and obtaining services. In brief, Native Americans had a base of general experience with the dominant culture and in particular with the University of Oregon that shaped their views toward administrative structures. And in the University of Oregon situation, as in the relationship between Indians and non-Indians generally, Native Americans sought to obtain what they considered their fair due while maintaining a relationship with the University that allowed them to retain their status as Indians and cultural choice through their own socio-cultural systems.

It was within this light that Indians felt their entrance into certain organizational relationships with the University was to be viewed as well. This held for subsequent actions which resulted in the abolition of the NAP. Indians stated that they joined with other disadvantaged students and the University in the proposal to the federal government in the spring of 1970 on a contractual basis, as a free and autonomous socio-cultural unit on clearly

understood bases in order to obtain certain resources and services without giving up their independence as a Native American project that was of, by, and for Indians on the Oregon campus. The Native American position, then, basically stemmed from a self-determination model and set of understandings.

Native Americans joined with other minority programs in the spring of 1970 in order to obtain greater resources for their program. Through the proposal, it would become possible to recruit and provide supportive services to more Indian students on campus. There would be greater organizational capacities for serving Native Americans. There would be a greater cultural resource base for the Indian community on campus than existed under the voluntary program system with its hand-to-mouth existence so far as resources were concerned. These motivations similarly influenced other minorities to join in the proposal, which emphasized to HEW that a centralized and coordinated administrative structure could utilize extant voluntary programs to more effectively bring supportive services to disadvantaged or minority students.

Nonetheless, numerous informants in the fall of 1972 pointed out that the programs were wary of the 1970 proposal. They insisted upon certain understandings. Informants pointed out that the programs repeatedly sought and

received administrative assurances that their independence as programs would not be compromised by joining the proposed Office of Supportive Services system. These assurances were sought before and after the proposal was agreed to. At the time of the proposal these concerns of the programs received recognition in a section entitled "Guidelines for Organization" (University of Oregon 1970:20) wherein the contractual nature of the proposal was recognized:

One of the most important tasks we have before us is the organization and coordination of programs for the disadvantaged. We need to formalize our programs with the knowledge that such organization will bring benefits but also with the awareness that the vitality and creativity demonstrated thus far can be stifled by such a process. Thus, it is appropriate to cite the agreed upon guidelines for such an organization.

The "Guidelines" which followed this statement recognized the independence of the student unions, the need to distinguish between ethnic studies and supportive services, involve the Division of Student Services with the programs, that the pre-college programs of Upward Bound and High School Equivalency Program (HEP) were different from ongoing University programs such as Project 75, Sesamex, and Native American, and that these pre-college programs would be separate from the Office of Supportive Services but could create ongoing programs within the Office of Supportive Services' structure (which was later done in the form of Project Life for HEP and Project Continuation for

Upward Bound).

But the key organizational features found here were those which called for an associate dean who would coordinate and provide supportive services for disadvantaged students, such a person being approved by staff, students, and administration; this office, OSS, would have a separate budget. As for the ongoing supportive services programs, leadership would be put forth from the ethnic communities (student unions) on campus by nomination and such leaders would control and be responsible for their own programs, including budgets on a basis the same as departments within the University system.

Organizationally, the 1970 proposal called for the creation of a central office to deal with ongoing disadvantaged programs at the University, set forth the staff positions and functions of the office, and the relationships between the central office and the individual programs.

The central office was to be headed by an associate dean and three assistant deans. The associate dean would coordinate the staff of the central unit so as to provide services to disadvantaged students, evaluate the individual programs, do long-range planning to ensure that adequate resources were available to the programs, conduct orientation programs, and in general serve in a public relations capacity relative to the University, communities, and

outside institutions. Other staff, the assistant deans, would work in community liaison, study skills, and counseling and career guidance (Ibid.:22-25). The local units, individual programs, in the new system were to have autonomy in the hiring of staff and the spending of their funds. But each of the programs was to perform certain functions: "(1) reading and study skills, (2) community liaison, (3) guidance and counseling, (4) tutorial coordination" (Ibid.:29). Those persons in the local units having these roles would relate to the staff in the central office having a similar role.

A central organizational goal was not only greater coordination of the programs, but above all to establish a framework through which services considered most essential were received by students. As put in a section dealing with problems of disadvantaged programs at Oregon (Ibid.: 17):

We need to get academic advising, personal counseling, and study skills instruction out to the students.

The University has an Office of Academic Advising, a Counseling Center, and a Reading and Study Skills Center. Despite the efforts of the staff in these offices -- some of whom are from minority groups themselves -- the disadvantaged student will not cross the threshold of their 'cloisters.' We need to select trained personnel in the above areas so that they can move out to where the action is and where the need is acknowledged to exist. We are confident that we can teach program

staff how to teach others how to improve their reading comprehension, how to take notes and how to take tests. We need to select counselors who will be a part of our programs so that when the need is evident, assistance will be close at hand.

Here, then, was an admission that existing delivery systems within the University were not reaching students who were disadvantaged. Therefore, the goal was to decentralize the system to the point where the program units were meeting these functions. However, there would still be coordination and centralization from above in the form of the new central unit, Office of Supportive Services, which would monitor the programs and provide expertise and assistance in carrying out these functions at the local or program level. Implicit in this organizational format was a recognition of extant programs, their ethnic base, and the expectation that with assistance the programs could more effectively bring services to their respective constituencies. Here was a recognition of cultural pluralism. This was pointed out by the first director of the Office of Supportive Services (Office of Supportive Services 1971:2):

The culture diversity and pluralism among our students necessitates that each program have a different organizational structure to accommodate their needs. However, even with different structures, each program must perform three primary functions: administrative, tutorial and counseling/advising.

However, what appeared to be a balanced system on the surface, one with explicit understandings about

relationships, had to be put to the test and interpreted. What had apparently been created, structurally and functionally, is well-summarized by the first director (Ibid.:1):

Our program at the University of Oregon is a loose federation of five programs, with the Office of Supportive Services as the coordinating agent. Three of these programs are designed to meet the needs of a specific population: Project 75 (Afro-American students,), Sesamex (Mexican-American students), and the Native American Program (American Indian students). The other two programs, Project Continuation and Project Life, provide services to students entering the University from the pre-college programs located on campus, the Upward Bound Program and the High School Equivalency Program, respectively. (My emphasis.)

What appeared to be organizational understandings on the part of the administration and the programs would come to be increasingly subject to interpretation.

The elaborate staff provided in the proposal for the central office (OSS) was not put into operation. There was not an associate Dean or three assistant Deans appointed. After an extended search, a new director was appointed for the fall of 1970. This person had held an appointment as an Ombudsman or advocate of the minority position in the Office of Minority Relations which operated out of the President's Office. The new director was chosen by the Vice-President of Student Services, the program directors, and the Chairman of the Committee on Educational Opportunity Programs. He reported to the Vice-President of Student Services (University of Oregon 1971:4-5). This person did

not have the academic qualifications which were sought in terms of an Associate Dean. Therefore, he did not have that rank. Other staff were put on who did not assume the titles originally envisioned. Nonetheless, the new staff put into operation the central office.

#### Breakdown of the OSS

It soon became apparent that there were different interpretations of what the role of the central office would be: What "coordination" meant; what degree of autonomy the program directors would have in contacting other University systems; how much the programs had to respond to the central office. As the faculty committee monitoring the programs could state in the spring of 1971 (Ibid.:5): "The task of bringing under one roof five programs, which antedated the Office of Supportive Services and which are structurally parallel and autonomous in many ways, has been difficult."

While the structure of the new socio-cultural system, that was the OSS and the student programs, appeared to be federal in nature (a central body with sufficient power to perform general functions and the retention of considerable power in the local units), it was in fact a confederate system which emerged (weak central body with most of the power residing in the local units). This "loose

federation," in reality confederation, was the result of several factors.

First, the program directors interpreted the agreement as being one where most of the power resided in the programs; they felt they had joined a confederate system and interpreted and acted in accordance with this set of assumptions. Program directors put the major emphasis upon those portions which referred to program independence and autonomy.

Second, the organization set up had attempted to recognize, indeed had to, that the three ethnically-based socio-cultural systems were independent before entering the new organizational structure. Structural and cultural factors had to be reckoned with in setting up the organization given their independence and desire to maintain separate programs. In the absence of these factors, the organization would have been more subject to administrative conceptions of structure and function from the beginning. As it was, administrative fiat could not determine unilaterally the organizational shape of the new system. Rather, it had to work within the existing structural and cultural facts. Further, the administration was seeking to harness these extant socio-cultural systems, or programs, in order to increase the flow of services to students, an effort which was failing by admission when the regular University

units sought to reach disadvantaged students. The belief was that individual ethnics and their programs would have a better chance of delivering these services and relating to the students. Both the recognition of structural realities and cultural factors and the desire to use them in creating a more efficient delivery system for services strengthened the power of the programs. Indeed, as will be seen, the administration said that the responsibility, hence the burden, was primarily that of the programs. The directors correlated very easily the relationship between responsibility and power; where the one was theirs, so was the other. Thus, the programs entered from an independent base of strength, used the need of the administration to recognize and utilize the programs, and shaped their actions in terms of the responsibilities they had been given and the conceptions of the powers they felt they had and were entitled to under a highly decentralized system.

Third, the director of the central body, the OSS, was viewed by the program directors as their representative, not an agent of the administration; and that he served at their pleasure, not that of the administration. This was noted earlier when in the fall of 1971 the directors told him to take his orders from them. From the administration's viewpoint, the staff in the central unit were to be professional administrators who ensured administrative

regulation and accountability with regard to the programs. Yet, the person who was to head the OSS under the original plan, an associate dean, was to be, in part, selected by the program directors and such a person would be "effective only as long as he relates to, and is felt to be an advocate for, the disadvantaged student" (University of Oregon 1970:20). This concession to the program directors, continued even in the absence of an associate dean when the new system started, violated the normal canons of bureaucratic rationality recognized in organizational theory and practice. But this was considered necessary toward making the system work. It is, therefore, not difficult to see that the directors would come to view the director and his staff as essentially "their man" or advocate and the central office as one that took its major cues from the local units in the system.

Fourth, and in the line with the preceding, the new director of the OSS did not apparently assert a strong leadership role during the first year of his office; and when he did attempt to do so the next year, it was "too late" as one informant put it. Both administrators and program-related persons indicated that the director interpreted his role in such a manner that the program directors had a great deal of autonomy, came to view the incumbent as subject to manipulation, and that there was a general failure

to establish strong leadership in the central unit. But others said that the director's role interpretation was one in general accord with how relations were to go, and that he only tried to "tighten up" later under pressure from the administration. The major weight of informant opinion, however, seemed to be that the director did not strongly counter the independent actions of the program directors. When he tried, he ran into trouble. Therefore, the argument of many was that strong pressures from below and weak leadership from above during the first year of the new organization constituted a major factor in the evolution of the system.

Fifth, there was the feeling among the directors that the OSS was not giving them the services they needed; and therefore the programs were further encouraged to increase their tendency to deal individually with other units of the University. The original plan had called for the OSS to have professional staff who articulated very closely with the individual programs in the delivering of services. Staff in the central unit would train those in the lower units and bring forth or together expertise when needed below. The local units would be consumers of a range of services and levels of expertise. As it was, the program directors often chose not to buy. The feelings of the Native American Program during the fall term of 1970, when

the new organization was starting, are illustrated in a statement (Native American Program 1970<sub>b</sub>:1) regarding professionalism in the program and from above:

A second objective is to maintain the non-professional personality in the administration of the program. The student control of the program must be maintained and developed....A professional orientation would be a degeneracy back to all the bureaucracies holding back the Native American communities. Our needs requiring professionals shall be met on a consultant basis. (My emphasis.)

Particularly among Native Americans, then, there was a heavy emphasis upon internal reliance for resources and/or utilizing those of other University systems without always going through the central unit. Native Americans, and others, put a far looser interpretation on the relationships between the central office than the administration. The assumption can be made that even if there had been the original staff professionals contemplated -- an associate and three assistant deans -- and the attempt to articulate roles and functions, the same frictions would have come forth given the feelings of program directors.

Finally, it would appear that increasingly the central office came to be viewed as another example of bureaucracy in the most pejorative sense of that term. This, of course, was to continue as a common complaint against the further maintenance of the office and the attempts of the new Associate Dean to revitalize it. Lost forms, delayed

decisions, and inefficiency were long-standing indictments of the OSS by the program directors.

For Native Americans, the OSS was in the mold of other University systems: impersonal and bureaucratic. Native American views of these systems were mentioned frequently by informants. Secretaries and clerks, for example, in the various offices seemed more interested in the stamping of forms rather than recognizing human needs and the righting of human problems. It was said that some Indian students would get so frustrated with the red tape that they threatened to go back to the reservation. While often exclamatory, this was held to be a factor in the dropping out of some students.

For all of these reasons -- program directors' interpretations of the nature of the system established, structural and cultural factors that had to be reckoned with in organizing a support services delivery system, the directors' views of who controlled the OSS, the incumbent's role interpretation and actions, and an increasing dissatisfaction with the services provided and perceived bureaucratic nature of the central office -- there resulted a situation wherein the system was one of a weak central office and largely sovereign local units. By the spring of 1972, things had reached the point where the individual programs saw little use for a central office. And, thereafter, they

were to increasingly demand its abolition, feeling that it served little useful purpose and used up limited resources which the local units felt they could utilize more efficiently and effectively.

### Reorganization and Revitalization of OSS

Therefore, when the administration decided in the summer of 1972 to revitalize a moribund central office through reorganization and the appointment of a new director, the stage was set for the conflicts and clashes that ensued in the fall of 1972.

Apparently the administration was in the process of re-examining its "opportunity structure" for disadvantaged students as far back as 1971. Informants reported increasing pressures by the administration upon the then director to attempt a greater assertion of control over the independent actions of the program directors within the OSS system. But these efforts were resisted by the program directors. Or, they were insufficiently pushed by the director of the OSS. Various sources indicated that by the spring of 1972 the director had largely lost the support of the program directors and was rapidly losing administrative support. With the programs demanding in the spring of 1972 separate budgets, resisting a more centralized or consolidated OSS; let alone any central office, a stronger

directorship ("super dean") in the OSS, the bringing of HEW officials to the campus, and the consequent failure to win refunding from the federal government, the administration decided to act decisively to correct a perceived loss of control and to correct an increasing source of embarrassment and investigation when other socio-cultural systems' perspectives were considered (legislative, State Board of Higher Education, and HEW).

From the viewpoint of the administration, the dual advocacy system and partnership of the disadvantaged and concerned professionals had broken down. The disadvantaged were their own advocates; professionals were being ignored. Their services were not being sufficiently utilized. And the results were showing in terms of student failures, staying in the University system too long, and the lack of degrees obtained by students. The paraprofessionals in the programs were not achieving output, according to this viewpoint. The quantity and quality of services being delivered by the system was inadequate. Professionals were not only being ignored or under-utilized in many ways, but they were being bothered by the various programs through unstructured demands that were seen as time-consuming and inefficient. To some professionals in the administrative structure, the program directors were seen as being too independent, arrogant, and pretentious for the roles and

offices they held. Professionals' opinions seemed to be that expertise, efficiency, and rationality were lessened by those hardly qualified to act in such status-roles. At times, the depictions of the programs and their directors by some administrators seemed to cast the former in the role of feudal barons or local political bosses living off a corrupt and profitable patronage system, while the latter in the form of the central power was acting on the bases of expertise, experience, and training in order to correct the abuses in the local programs. In brief, as has been noted (cf. Hughes and Hughes 1972:109-131) in other structural situations where the professional and disadvantaged have been involved within an established system, there were conflicts here. Thus, there was substantial support, indeed pressure, for the administration to do something to curb the perceived independence and consequent inefficiency of the program directors by professionals in the various administrative units of the University system. Greater efficiency and accountability would result from greater centralization and stronger professional leadership in the central office; more information tapped from the programs, evaluations, and functionality of relationships through a process of tightening up.

Ethnic community participation in the University by disadvantaged students, from the administration's viewpoint,

had moved to a position of almost complete control by the local units of the OSS system. What was to be a "partnership" or balance of forces had degenerated into weakness at the center, to the point where the local units were now calling for the abolition of the administration's leading guidance system, the OSS. The firing of the OSS director, the reorganization which placed the OSS within Student Services, under the immediate supervision of an Associate Dean who would report to a Dean in Student Administrative Services -- all were attempts to revitalize the central office of the system, reassert control, and meet the new emphasis upon centralization coming from HEW, the source of renewed federal funding.

To the program directors, especially Native Americans, it appeared that the new Associate Dean was not merely stepping in to "coordinate" the programs. Rather, the interpretation put on the statements and movements of administrators were such that it appeared a major shift in the structure and functioning of the entire system was under way. The actions of the new Associate Dean were not viewed as merely re-establishing an administrative presence in the central office or the movement of the system back to the point where some type of federalism or power balance obtained. The impression conveyed was one where the movement was toward complete centralization, or nearly so, of

power in the central office (in the person of the Associate Dean) and a corresponding decline in the power of the local units (i.e., of the project directors, staff, and students in the programs). Therefore, the actions of the Associate Dean were viewed as moving the system toward a unitary one, where all powers were effectively concentrated in the central office. Thus, the issue of centralization vs. self-determination was more than sloganeering; it was viewed by the NAP and other programs as the heart of the matter. The rapid movement from a confederate system to a consolidated or unitary one was bound to set off an explosion. And it did. Whether intended or not, the perceptions of actors within the system saw such rapid structuring as striking at the very nature of their independence and autonomy and the pluralistic system to which they had originally subscribed.

Thus, Native Americans opened their manifesto to the Associate Dean (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:1) with this statement:

Since the advent of a 'support' or 'special' services concept on the University of Oregon campus, the administrative effort has been to construct and refine a singular and efficient bureaucratic monolith. This development is contrary to those contractual understandings entered as terms for Native Americans receiving services.

This reference to a "bureaucratic monolith" expressed the feeling of Native Americans as to what had happened since 1970, but was not supposed to be as stated in the

"Introduction" to the proposal sent to HEW (University of Oregon 1970: Introduction):

Rather than approaching the problem of providing educational opportunities to the disadvantaged from a monolithic administrative style, the University's approach has been to encourage the creation of smaller, rather autonomous programs which are directly accountable to the populations they have been created to serve. Since each of our five programs have been created to serve different populations, each differs from the other. It is difficult to meld into one document the aspirations and needs of each program.

The "Introduction" goes on to make the following important statement:

The greatest strength of our programs is that they are student directed. Rather than an omnipotent dean making decisions that affect persons he does not know, and to whom he is not accountable, the University casts the burden of responsibility to those directly affected by these programs. Students. The University's faith in these students to make wise use of their resources and talents has been justly rewarded. Many of the students in our programs for disadvantaged are in paraprofessional roles, training for more responsible positions. Our program leaders have grown into positions of responsibility through this process and others are in training at the present time.

We have turned to students to show us the way, and they have.

By the fall of 1972, Native Americans had concluded that the administration had turned elsewhere for showing the way. To Native Americans, and others, the "omnipotent dean" had arrived.

In fact, it is interesting to note that in the draft

proposal (Office of Supportive Services 1972<sub>c</sub>:1) to HEW for future funding (1973-1974) the new Associate Dean opens with almost the exact statement found in the 1970 proposal, particularly the part "Rather than approaching the problems of providing educational opportunities for low income and minority students from a monolithic administrative style..." and the next paragraph in the 1970 proposal which starts "The greatest strength of our programs is that they are student directed..." and then goes on to praise the students' responsibility and the like, this second paragraph of the 1970 proposal is eliminated by the Associate Dean in the fall 1972 draft proposal. Rather, the draft in the fall of 1972 has a second paragraph that goes on to emphasize the changes in things by saying (Ibid.:1-2):

Since August 16, 1972, an associate dean in Student Administrative Services for student programs has been appointed to direct these five programs. The duties of the associate dean are to coordinate the five programs, manage the overall fiscal development, and act as a common authority for the five programs....The five programs are no longer entirely student directed because of the many complicated areas such as fiscal management, hiring of competent personnel, and directing of the many component services. Students will continue to have input such as evaluating the program and its personnel.

This shift in emphasis, to Native Americans and others, violated the understandings that the programs were student-directed and operated. The "Introduction" to the 1970 proposal, it was said, made this clear, as well as a statement

"It is important to note one of the great strengths of the University of Oregon's programs for disadvantaged is that they are student directed and each director is accountable to the population he has been selected to serve" (University of Oregon 1970:v). Or, the statement of the former director of the Office of Supportive Services (Office of Supportive Services 1971:1):

Our philosophy for program operation is that students should not only be involved in the decision-making process of their program, but they should also have the opportunity and responsibility for implementing those decisions. To this end, the programs are student operated and student directed.

Therefore, as Native Americans saw it, since 1970 there had been "subtle revisions" of the original contractual base through increasing attempts to administratively penetrate their program. These violated the original agreement, should cease, and thus, necessitated a new contractual agreement be undertaken (Native American Program 1972<sub>b</sub>:1). Despite these problems with bureaucracy over time, Native Americans felt that they had been able to cope as an adaptive unit. They expressed their viewpoint on this past and present as follows (Ibid.):

Our objective in retaining our rights of self-determination are simple. We have achieved a respectable academic record in spite of the bureaucratic machinery. We wish merely to continue our efforts of self help and self education. The administrative 'progress' has continually plagued, burdened, and complicated our operation. We wish our staff to spend more time

helping students instead of justifying our existence to the University, the State of Oregon, and the U.S. Office of Education.

But with the spring and summer events of 1972, and particularly those of the fall, things had become less "subtle" and had reached crisis proportions. Now Native Americans declared: "Our autonomy has been relegated to a mere issue of trivia, and we have witnessed a stifling of our ability to move on problems and, more recently, an administrative inquisition which we do not deserve" (Ibid.).

Thus, from the Native American viewpoint events had turned to the point where their own organizational relationships with the University would have to be reconsidered. By their actions, abolishing the Native American Program, they brought to a head the central organizational questions about disadvantaged programs on the Oregon campus and reinstated a commitment to pluralism out of which their ethnic identity and unity could be maintained.

SECTION III  
OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY CASE

## CHAPTER VII

NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT  
AT OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

Native American students at Oregon State University are part of the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP). This parent organization's developmental history, staffing, recruiting of minority and disadvantaged students were related strongly to the quest of Indian students on Oregon State University campus for Native American program development.

In what follows the interrelationship between the EOP parent organization and the development of a Native American offspring are juxtapositioned. From this there emerges a perspective on intergroup relations and structural conditions within the parent organization that provides the context for the origins and status of the Native American program at the time of this study (1972-1973).

The Educational Opportunities Program Parent Organization  
History of Educational Opportunities Program

The Educational Opportunities Program at Oregon State University stems from the three percent admissions policy announced by the Chancellor's Office of the Oregon State System of Higher Education in 1968. Under this policy,

a higher educational institution in Oregon could, starting in the 1968-1969 academic year, "admit a number of freshmen totaling no more than three percent of the institution's previous year's freshman class as calculated by the board's office, 'who have not met the basic admission requirements'" (Oregon State System of Higher Education 1969: 34). The Faculty Senate at Oregon State voted in April of 1968 to accept the three percent program for a trial period of one year, subject to review as to whether it would be continued (Ibid.: 51).

In the 1969-1969 school year, twenty-two students entered Oregon State through the program. Of these, over three-fourths were white, with two American Indians, one Black, one Chicano, and one Korean American making up the remainder. Of twenty-one students, eleven had a high school grade point average that did not meet the fall term admission standards. As the year progressed, twelve of the twenty-two students completed three terms and nine students had a year end average of 2.00 or above, the minimal passing requirement for regular students (Ibid.: 51-52).

The first director of the three percent program for disadvantaged students worked ninety percent of the time at Oregon State University and ten percent of the time at the University of Oregon. At Oregon State, he offered an orientation to the University in the fall, counseled,

assisted students with their course programs, registration, tutoring, personal problems, and held evening meetings on cultural problems students faced in adapting to the college environment (Ibid: 53).

In the winter term of the 1968-1969 academic year, the Black Student Union at Oregon State University proposed that there be more recruitment of Black students, more supportive services and Black staff associated with their delivery, curriculum changes, more financial aid, and more Black faculty. Blacks were protesting the lack of a definite structure or program on campus for meeting Black needs; and they said that existing efforts were inadequate.

To Black students, the three percent program was inadequate and did not serve the Black community on campus. Thus their demands for program efforts directed more toward their needs. A committee of faculty, administrators, and Black Student Union leaders met during the winter term of 1968-1969 to consider Black demands. Also during this winter term a Black was appointed to be a director of an Office of Minority Affairs. This office was directly responsible to the President of Oregon State University. In essence, this position was that of an advocate. Blacks had wanted this role to be for Blacks students, but it was instead broadened to encompass others with the phrase "minority affairs."

In the spring of 1969, Oregon State went through a major crisis in ethnic relations on campus similar to those occurring elsewhere in the nation. When a Black athlete was told to shave his facial hair or be dropped from the football squad, this set in motion renewed demands by Black students for a major re-examination by the University of its relationships with minority students on and off-campus. As a result of this crisis, which saw many Black students leave and never return to the University, there was a new awareness concerning University-minority group relations on campus. Some staff members within the EOP felt the spring events of 1969 and the demands of Black students for more financial aid, more Black student recruitment, more minority personnel, and the like caused the University to re-examine its three percent program and the University's overall commitment to disadvantaged students.

The committee (Committee on Minority Affairs) which had been meeting since January of 1969 to consider the demands of the Black Student Union met once again in late May of 1969. It recommended combining the Office of Minority Affairs and the Special Services Program (three percent admissions program) into a new structure to meet the needs of ethnic minorities. The committee recommended that the Black person who was the acting director of the

of the Office of Minority Affairs assume on a temporary basis the directorship of the newly combined structure, with the specific recommendation that well-qualified Blacks be interviewed and one be appointed on full-time basis to direct the suggested Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services (Oregon State University 1969).

In July of 1969, the Oregon State University Faculty Senate reviewed the three percent program and agreed to extend it one more year. But a significant shift in policy occurred when the Faculty Senate "directed that recruiting of students for the program be concentrated on economically disadvantaged students, as defined in such programs as Upward Bound, for the award of Economic Opportunity Grants" (Oregon State University Fall 1972: 1; emphasis is that of EOP). Thus the University's effort was no longer just toward those not able to meet admission requirements, but rather toward a broader category of persons falling within the term economically disadvantaged. At the same time, the Faculty Senate authorized the Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services. This was to be a coordinating office which would increase the enrollment of minority and disadvantaged students and provide them with supportive services necessary toward their adaptation to the college environment. Therefore, this new charge and office were created "in recognition of the University's particular

concerns for minority and disadvantaged students" (Ibid.).

With the quitting of the director of the three percent program in the early summer of 1969, and the late summer reapproval by the Faculty Senate action on the disadvantaged student program was in limbo until early August. In that month a new director, a Black American, was appointed along with other hurriedly recruited staff. They were given one month to bring together the semblance of a program. Thus there was limited lead time, planning, and preparation. Ad hocaracy became the name of the game as a new staff, a new name and program (Minority Affairs and Special Services Program, later changed to the Educational Opportunities Program in the summer of 1970), and a new direction in terms of philosophy, administration-faculty relations, and recruiting procedures were launched in order to accommodate an incoming group of forty students.

Recruiting was difficult because of the Black student protest of the spring, said one informant. Financial aid was limited for students as were funds for administering the program. Office space acquisition and the hiring of staff were other initial problems.

Attention then shifted toward getting newly recruited students admitted to the University. Tests were waived for those students who could not meet the minimal

requirements. Procedures were developed and pressures brought to bear in order to facilitate the rapid movement through the admissions process. This was cut down to several days as opposed to longer periods of time. These various events gave the Admissions Office a "heart attack," as one EOP staff member put it.

In order to improve the holding power of the program, special courses were set up to help disadvantaged students in the transition from high school to college academic work. At first these courses were not given for credit because of the administration's opposition. As one informant stated, this meant students were using up valuable time and resources without receiving a commensurate return in the form of credits. Later the administration agreed to allow credit for these limited number of courses. But at that time, the same person said, the philosophy of the administration was that if a student could not measure up, they flunked out and that was it. Now, however, the EOP feels that it has been able to get the University system to be more sensitive and responsive to the special needs of disadvantaged students and to be less rigid in its requirements. EOP staff indicated that the program had helped to educate the University to the needs of the disadvantaged in such areas as financial aids, admissions, courses, and counseling. Therefore, the University now

is more responsive given the pressures the program has brought to bear on behalf of its students.

The new staff members of EOP soon recognized that in order to change the structure and ideology of the University to be more accomodative to the needs of minority and disadvantaged students, it would need a better working relationship with the faculty and administration. Thus special efforts were made to work with the Special Services Committee (which monitors and evaluates the EOP) and the key administrator in charge of disadvantaged student programs (then Dean of Faculty; now Dean of Undergraduate Studies). This, it was felt, gave greater EOP access to and influence with other University structures when compared with the past

The program started in 1969 was too late for state funds. So it was funded through assorted "paper clip" funds of the University, as one person put it. This amounted to eighteen-thousand dollars for administering the program during the 1969-1970 year. With the 1970-1971 year, the EOP was included in the biennial state budget. The increase in the administrative resource base of the EOP from 1969 to the time of this study is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Administrative Budget of Educational Opportunities  
Program, Oregon State University 1969-1973

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1969-1970	18,000
1970-1971	38,000
1971-1972	55,000
1972-1973	72,000

Source: Director, Educational Opportunities Program,  
Oregon State University

Financial aids for students in the program come from federal sources and are not included in the administrative operation of the program per se. Informants indicated that the EOP had grant applications in for federal funds. One stated that earlier attempts to obtain federal funds were hampered by two factors: first, that Oregon State University had been told the University of Oregon was more experienced in dealing with disadvantaged students and thus was more likely to obtain limited federal funds; and, second, that much of the proposal writing to that point was of a poor quality and there was a definite need for the University to obtain the skills of a professional proposal writer in this area.

By 1971, the EOP was a viable program within the structure of Oregon State University. And in July of that year, the Faculty Senate agreed to a three year extension of the developing coordinative program for disadvantaged

students (Ibid.).

### Student Selection and Composition

The EOP is charged with the responsibility of recruiting and providing supportive services for economically disadvantaged students coming to Oregon State. Nonetheless, there is a strong emphasis upon recruiting students from minority backgrounds, although the program draws students from different ethnic backgrounds. The general ethnic composition of the program since 1969 is shown below in Table 7.

Table 7

#### Ethnic Composition of Educational Opportunities Program 1969-Fall, 1972

<u>Ethnic Background</u>	<u>Year</u>			
	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	Fall 1972
Black	32	55	56	64
Native American	2	14	17	17
Spanish-surname	4	24	25	25
Other, including Caucasian	10	8	8	15

Source: Programs For The Disadvantaged In The State System of Higher Education, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Office of Academic Affairs, December 18, 1972, p. 66; and Director, Educational Opportunities Program, Oregon State University.

Despite a relatively large initial and continuing presence

of Black enrollees in the program, there has been a substantial increase in the number of Chicano and Native American students in the last few years. EOP staff generally indicated a greater desire to increase the student numbers in these two categories within the program.

The EOP's students are also drawn from primarily low-income groups, and this is a central factor in a program charged with recruiting those who are economically disadvantaged. Federal guidelines provide that persons with family incomes over nine thousand dollars cannot obtain financial aid. Many students, of course, do not come from families with an income that high.

The educational achievement of students is also an important factor in their selection and recruitment. The EOP recognizes three categories of students. First, there are those titled Group I -- those who meet all the regular requirements for admission to the University. Second, Group II students -- those who do not meet the minimum admission requirements for the fall term but would be eligible during the winter or spring term. This is usually measured in terms of a high school grade point average less than the fall term entrance requirement of 2.25 or its test equivalency. Persons in Group II are expected to have a 2.00 to 2.24 grade point average or test equivalency. And third, there are Group III students who

do not meet Oregon State's minimum admissions standards (the main indicator being a high school grade point average below 2.0) but who, given an examination of their background, are felt to be able to succeed in the University. These are students who are admitted as a part of the three percent policy of the institution and the Oregon State System of Higher Education. Thus the educational achievement of Group I and Group II students is such that they could enter the University the same as other students. But they too have academic problems. They are not as severe as those of Group III or three percent students, however.

The EOP has put a greater recruiting emphasis upon Group I and Group II students in recent years. This stems from a policy decision by the Special Services Committee in 1970-1971. The committee established more specific guidelines for selecting and recruiting Group III students. It recommended that the EOP give less emphasis, as of the 1971-1972 academic year, to choosing Group III students and more to those in Group I and Group II. The general basis for this decision was that Oregon State lacked the means to fully meet the many personal and academic problems associated with large numbers of Group III students; rather, the attempt was made to maximize resources and success with Group I and Group II students and a reduced

number of Group III students (Oregon State System of Higher Education 1972: 64).

This policy decision was reflected in the 1971-1972 recruiting, where only four (or eight percent) of fifty-two newly admitted students to the program were in Group III (Ibid.: 65). EOP staff however, indicated that they were still committed to the original program goal concerning three percent students. The academic groupings in the EOP for 1970-1971 and the fall of 1972 are shown below in Table 8.

Table 8

Academic Group Composition of EOP Program  
1970-1971 and Fall 1972

	Group I	Group II	Group III	Total
1970-71	52	19	30	101
1972	80	14	31	125

Source: Oregon State University, Educational Opportunities Program Financial Aid Request For 1973-74, Fall 1972: 8.

While the percentage of Group III students went down, there was a greater increase in Group I and a corresponding drop in Group II students. EOP selection and recruitment therefore moved in the direction of stabilization at one extreme and significant increases at the other.

EOP staff generally viewed "high risk" students as

persons who could not meet the minimum grade point average at Oregon State. These were primarily Group III students. One informant further defined them as persons not receiving an adequate academic preparation in high school; that they came from a background where there is little academic emphasis; and that they were often the first students of their family to complete high school, let alone enter college. These students were often directly influenced by their personal background and family situation. If the family was relatively supportive of the student, and stable in income, this would help the high risk student to persevere. But if there was little family support, or if the family needed income that the student could provide through working, there were additional pressures for dropping out.

Whereas Group I and Group II students do not have to submit recommendations for admission to the program, three percent students do. These recommendations (three in all) must show that the student has latent or potential ability; and the qualities of reliability, motivation, and, above all, perseverance in the face of obstacles. EOP recruiters try to have personal interviews with all students. Great reliance is placed upon the personal interview resume submitted by the recruiter, particularly as it applies to Group III students. These interviews and

recommendations are important initial screening devices.

General guidelines exist within the EOP on the admission of students to the program. An undergraduate committee of the regular Academic Admissions Committee screens those who are accepted into the program, in particular three percent students. EOP staff are on this subcommittee, and it usually follows EOP recommendations. There is an in-staff EOP committee that evaluates admissions. But the staff are so harried, said one staff member, with other tasks that this screening mechanism does not operate as effectively as it should. The Financial Aid Office also enters the screening process, especially when it concerns the potential student's ability to meet financial aid criteria. Counselors and teachers in the higher schools assist in the screening process by identifying and recommending potential applicants, as do such organizations as the Urban League and Valley Migrant League. In the main, then, personal interviewing and recommendations, in particular for high risk students, are important means of screening out students.

The target areas or populations that the EOP can recruit are overwhelmingly in the state of Oregon. This is due to administrative decision. Blacks are recruited from the Portland area, Chicanos from the mid-Willamette Valley and Eastern Oregon, the latter area as well for Native

Americans and at Chemawa near Salem. Some exceptions are made for ethnic students who want to come to Oregon State University in order to avail themselves of a special school. This is the case, for example, with Lummi Indians from the state of Washington. They have chosen Oregon State in the area of fisheries given the tribe's emphasis upon an aquaculture program.

Special or unique recruiting procedures were generally absent. Two developments, however, were noted as being innovative to the program. One was the development of a compact brochure which explained the program's functions and how to enter it. A second was the development of a slide presentation about the program. Students assist directly and indirectly in the recruiting process. It was said they were effective and a good source of advertisement about the program. EOP staff try to contact all schools and communities with large concentrations of ethnic minorities, as well as other schools (to include community colleges), twice a year. Counselors are a primary source of information on students. Staff generally agreed, however, that recruitment efforts were inadequate. The major problem cited was the lack of staff. One informant said that the program should have in the recruiting field staff members equal to the number tied down in the central office. And, of great importance, this person

added, was the fact that recruiters be members from each of the ethnic groups represented in the program.

### Staffing and Administrative Structure

The administrative structure of the EOP at the time of study had the following key staff roles, ethnic backgrounds, and degrees of FTE: (1) a full-time director who was Black; (2) a full-time assistant director who was a Chicano; (3) a one-half time academic coordinator who was white; (4) a one-half time counseling coordinator who was Black; and (5) a one-half time instructional coordinator who was an Asian-American. This ethnic mixture in the key staff positions within the EOP represented an emphasis within the program on an integrated approach to staffing, according to several informants. However, one ethnic group not represented was that of Native American. As will be seen, this was a major complaint of not only Native American students but several EOP staff as well. Nonetheless, this was in part remedied in the fall of 1972 when an Indian counselor was hired within EOP on a one-third time basis as a part of a group of six graduate assistants who would be involved in counseling.

The establishment of six graduate assistants in counseling within the EOP structure derived from a decision of the University not to appoint a director of supportive

services. In the spring of 1972, a search committee considered applications for such a position. This director would have coordinated minority programs such as EOP and Upward Bound, developed funding proposals for special services programs, and worked with other University systems in such areas as ethnic studies, career opportunities, and counseling. This person would also have served as a source of advocacy for different minorities on campus. The belief was that this would prevent fragmentation of the general interests of minority students.

Numerous informants, however, pointed out that in the meetings associated with the search for a director, students showed that one person would not be acceptable to all ethnic students. Thus, the situation as it developed at Oregon State on the question of a "super dean" was similar to the University of Oregon. That is to say, those problems associated with a central director of a special services program who is from one ethnic background and those who are lower in the structure but from a different background ethnically or racially. In such situations, problems arise first in hiring (Shall the new director be a Black, Chicano, or Native American?) and secondly in operations when those not of the same racial or ethnic background of the central director feel that he favors his own group and discriminates against

other groups in the allocation of resources, prestige, and power. These problems can, of course, appear even in a structure such as the EOP, which they did.

Informants stated that given student objections (and informants also mentioned resistance to such a central directorship by some within the EOP itself), and their emphasis upon the need for each minority to have identity and support within the EOP structure, that the concept of counseling positions was established. It also was said that students argued that the funds for such a position should go to students within the EOP rather than to one person who might simply duplicate the efforts of existing minority program leaders. Thus, rather than undertaking a significant shift in the structural relationships of minority programs, there was the institution of counseling programs within the EOP. As a result, EOP and other student disadvantaged programs continued to report directly to the Dean of Undergraduate Studies.

EOP staff for key positions are usually sought outside of the institution. The recruiting procedures are basically the same as those for other positions in the University. Persons being considered for a staff position are screened by a committee composed of students from each of the ethnic groups and the director and the assistant director. The specific qualifications or abilities

looked for in EOP staff are different from those used in considering regular academic faculty. EOP staff mentioned that the first quality looked for was whether the person had some experience or interest in working with the disadvantaged, minorities, or persons from different ethnic backgrounds. A person's ethnic background was mentioned second. EOP staff generally emphasized that the fact of experience with disadvantaged persons and ethnicity were looked for more than academic expertise, as in the case of regular faculty.

When asked what kind of staff functioned most effectively in a program such as the EOP (Staff from certain backgrounds and orientations? Staff who are committed to social change? Staff who are committed to learning?), the staff members varied in their recognition of priorities. The answer of one informant was that staff committed to learning was first, Social change was second, seeing this as change in terms of the campus. However, this person noted that "a militant would not get to first base at OSU." Another staff member thought all the qualities were important, but this person ranked social change first, seeing it, too, in terms of institutional change within the context of the University. A third staff member saw certain backgrounds and orientations as being first.

All EOP staff said personality was a key factor in

staff effectiveness. One staffer mentioned that such personal characteristics as being "open, direct, and honest" were paramount. Too, this person continued, follow-through on commitments and confidentiality were central in a program such as EOP, particularly regarding students. One staff member mentioned that a strong personality was essential for the person who held the directorship. Another saw personality as a key factor given the fact that one was dealing with so many different ethnic groups, and it was therefore essential for creating and maintaining unity within a diverse program.

Staff turnover in the key positions within EOP at the time of study was held to be generally low, except for turnover in instructors within the program. Conflicts and differences between key staff members were noted, but there had been general staff continuity over the years.

At the time of this study, EOP full-time staff consisted of the director and assistant director, with one-half time for the academic, instructional, and counseling coordinators. There was a full-time secretary and a part-time one. Also on a part-time basis were the six graduate assistants. Volunteers came in such areas as tutoring from the School of Education.

### Directions

By the 1972-1973 academic year, the EOP at Oregon State University had gone through a considerable transformation. What had started as a three percent admissions program in 1968-1969 to take a limited number of students who could not meet regular admissions requirements had expanded to encompass the economically disadvantaged, most of whom were expected to meet the University's minimum admission requirements for the fall or other terms. A program which had started out with three-fourths of its students as white in 1968-1969 found itself by 1972-1973 having Blacks as the largest percentage of students, followed by Chicanos, and a growing number of American Indians.

Administrative resources had quadrupled from 1969 to 1972. The number of full-time and part-time staff had increased significantly. Financial aids, as indicated by federal support, had quadrupled from 1969 to 1972, with a contemplated doubling for the 1973-1974 academic year. Also requested in the winter term of 1973 was a near doubling of the students in the program, basing much of the argumentation for such an expansion upon the need to promote the educational opportunities of ethnic minorities. This latter request was in light of the six-fold increase in the student population of the program from 1968 to 1972.

Services had expanded in such areas as curriculum and instruction (which saw the addition of many new special courses for EOP students, their accreditation by the University, and their instruction by EOP staff), tutoring, counseling, and academic advising. EOP relationships with minority personnel in admissions and financial aid were established. Relationships and support from the administration, the Special Services Committee, and Faculty Senate were cemented and broadened. Increasingly EOP staff and students involved various departments and schools of the University through grant and scholarship assistance as well as curriculum and instruction of EOP courses. And at the same time the EOP's staff and students won greater faculty support and involvement in the promotion of ethnically relevant courses.

While the indices of institutional growth had by 1972-1973 seen a significant increase in the resources, students, and relationship of the EOP to the University system, there were also continuing indications of overt and covert structural stresses and changes within the EOP given the growing cultural diversity that it encompassed.

#### Origins of the Native American Program Offspring

The origin of Native American program development at Oregon State University was related to the developmental

history of its parent organization, the EOP. A review of this relationship, the initiation of an incipient Native American program, and its status as of 1972-1973 are presented below.

#### History of Native American Program Development

Prior to the creation of the EOP and its predecessor programs, the only ethnic student organization on the Oregon State University campus was the Black Student Union (BSU). Other ethnic student unions were subsequently formed in 1969-1970. Thus the BSU was a vanguard force at the University in ethnic relations on campus during the critical academic year 1968-1969, a time when on other campuses across the nation Black students and their organizations took the lead in pushing for structural and ideological changes in higher educational systems.

To briefly recapitulate these 1968-1969 events on the Oregon State University campus: The BSU demanded a Black program structure more oriented toward Black students' needs. A Committee on Minority Affairs -- composed of BSU representatives, faculty, and administrators -- was created to consider BSU demands. One result of the continuing dialogue on the committee was the creation of an Office of Minority Affairs, an advocacy office, to which a Black man was appointed. But continuing conflict

between the BSU and the Athletic Department at the University erupted into an incident that led to an eventual walk-out by many Black students and the charge that Oregon State University was a white racist institution. The Committee on Minority Affairs, no longer possessing BSU representatives, met in the late spring of 1969. It recommended combining the Office of Minority Affairs and the Special Services Program (three percent program) into one body, and, above all, that a qualified Black person be selected to head it. Subsequently, the Faculty Senate at the University approved the newly combined structure, and in the summer of 1969 a Black man was appointed as its director.

These events had important structural and attitudinal consequences for the EOP and the ethnic groups within it. This can be seen in a review of several key variables. First, the state and degree of ethnic student organization on the University campus, where Blacks were the only organized ethnic group, saw a strong assertion of Black group interests in the 1968-1969 academic year and thereafter. The lack of Chicano and Native American student organizations left these groups without any means of asserting their group interests when the EOP's predecessor organization was created. Second, the attitudes and policies of the University were generally responsive to Black demands

in the 1968-1969 crisis and what followed in its train. As noted, the Committee on Minority Affairs recommended hiring a Black to be the director of the combined advocacy and supportive services structure, and it was expected that there would be substantial recruitment and retention of Black students at the University. Thus Black control of the directorship and the increased size of the Black student group on campus were other important variables in shaping the EOP structure.

With regard to the directorship, it should be noted that the director of the original program for disadvantaged students--the three percent program--was a Native American. The appointment of a Black to head the Minority and Special Services Program in 1969 was in the absence of Chicano and Native American staff in key roles. This hindered the organizational capacities of each group that first year. But in the next academic year, 1970-1971, a Chicano was appointed as an assistant director. However, there were no key Native American staff members in the EOP from 1969 to the fall of 1972, when an Indian counselor was appointed. Native Americans were thus in a tertiary position relative to staffing, with its concomitant implications for power and recruiting, within the EOP structure.

A fourth important variable was selection and recruitment of students. As noted in a previous review, with a

Black director and the absence of Chicano and Native Americans in key staff roles, the first year (1969-1970) of the new program found thirty-two Black students and only four Chicano and two Native Americans in the Minority Affairs and Special Services Program. This clearly showed a strong selection and recruitment of Black students the first year and less for the other two groups. This is related to the lack of staff roles for each of the latter two groups. Thus in 1970-71, with a Chicano as an associate director, while Black students increased to fifty-five, the number of Chicano students jumped to twenty-four and Native American students to fourteen. (The Chicano staff member was also responsible for recruiting Native Americans.) These figures essentially remained the same for the 1971-1972 academic year and the fall of 1972, with an increase to seventeen Native Americans in each of these two time periods.

While a period of stabilization had set in relative to ethnic composition for 1971-1972 when compared to the previous year, and which continued in the figures for the fall of 1972, there was still the numerical dominance by Blacks given the heavy recruiting in the first two years of the program, with Chicanos in a secondary position given substantial recruiting of this group during the second year by the EOP. And at the same time the

directorship and associate directorship were held by a Black and Chicano respectively, reflecting each ethnic group's numerical strength. Native Americans were the smallest of the ethnic groups numerically and lacked a staff member in the EOP structure.

To summarize these events, it appeared to other ethnic groups (Chicano and, above all, Native Americans) that the University's actions and policies not only initially but on a continuing basis sanctioned a process of differential incorporation, wherein Blacks were the dominant power within the EOP in terms of numbers, resources, and staffing. (Several informants noted in 1972-1973 that the spring crisis of 1969 not only gave an initial advantage to Blacks as an ethnic group but a continuing one because of the University's desire to avoid a similar incident. This position argued that the past was a constraint on University actions relative to the EOP director and Blacks as a group.) The EOP came to be viewed as essentially a Black program. Within a supposedly universalistic structure and ethos, other ethnic groups came to view the EOP as a de facto structure of inequality for their groups. The feeling that there was an attitude and policy of University favoritism for Blacks persisted even in the face of a Chicano as an associate director and/or the eventual addition of a Native American staff role in EOP.

The first phase of Native American student organization at Oregon State University commenced with the founding of an Indian club in October of 1970. Known as O-YAKE-KI, its slogan was "Think Indian."

Although the Native American Student Union sought to promote an Indian viewpoint relative to the EOP and the rest of the University, its early and continuing organizational effectiveness was generally weak. This was to remain so, as acknowledged by Indian students themselves, at the time of this study in 1972-1973.

Native American student organization remained weak on the University campus for several reasons. First, there were internal differences within the Native American Student Union itself. Prior to 1972-1973, the student union had generally been under control of Indian students from Oregon. In 1970-1971 there were increasing numbers of Indian students from the state of Washington at Oregon State University. More non-Oregon Indians joined the club, and by 1971-1972 there was increasing factionalism evident among them and Oregon Indians. A "Salmon Bake" in the spring of 1972 by Washington Indians was held by some Indian informants to have been a success when compared to an Oregon Indian sponsored pow-wow, being indicative of the shift in the spring of 1972 of control in the Native American Student Union to the Washington Indians. Some

informants stated that this shift was more by default than plan, since the club would have died without the Washington Indians keeping it alive given the general withdrawal by Oregon Indians from Indian club activities. For the 1972-1973 academic year, then, all of the top offices in the Native American Student Union were filled by Indian students from the state of Washington and several Indian students from the state of Oregon no longer felt a part of the organization. There was to remain a weak and divided Native American Student Union throughout 1972-1973, despite attempts to revitalize it in the fall of 1972 by the new Washington Indian leadership. By the winter term of 1973, several top officers had quit, meetings ceased, only to see by the spring of 1973 a renewed attempt to resurrect the organization.

The state of Native American organization at the University was related to two other factors: the small number of Indian students and the lack of Indian staff members in EOP. Despite organizational weaknesses and internal schisms, the Native American Student Union had a general position from its inception that favored more Indian students and Indian staff within the EOP. It was expected that with more students and Indian staff there would be increased organizational effectiveness for Native Americans on campus.

Indian students felt that they lacked power, numbers, identity, and representation in the EOP structure. Some came to view the EOP as "using" Indian students as tokens, just so it could be said that Indians were a part of the EOP. These feelings and attitudes were expressed in several interviews and discussions in 1972-1973, but they represented a trend which had existed prior to that time. These feelings and attitudes continued for some Native Americans throughout the 1972-1973 academic year, despite the fact that some progress was made in expanding the role of Indian students in EOP.

While Native American students and leaders desired a program effort within EOP that was more oriented toward their own group, this goal was not effectively translated into action until the spring of 1972. This can be viewed as a second phase of development in Native American organization on the campus, one which eventuated in an incipient Native American program within EOP.

In the spring of 1972, an Indian Education Seminar brought together over thirty students. The seminar's instructor, an anthropologist, had made arrangements to encourage as many Indian students on campus as possible to participate. Almost half of the class contained Native Americans, mostly those in EOP, including Indian student leaders at the time or those who would be. Also present

in the seminar were some staff members of the EOP who were favorable toward expanding the role of Indians within the EOP. In addition, there were many concerned non-Indian students.

Initially, the Indian students expressed some of their backgrounds and the problems they experienced both on and off-campus. Soon the seminar's members decided that their main role should be one of galvanizing support among Oregon State University students, faculty, and administrators to start and develop a Native American program at the University.

The seminar broke down into two large groups. The first group dealt with how there could be Native American program development relative to the EOP structure -- the hiring of an Indian counselor, administrator, recruiter, and the provision of supportive services. The second group dealt with the Indian studies aspect of Native American program development. When both sides completed their efforts, various persons melded the statements into a coherent document (Indian Education Seminar 1972).

This document opened with a statement about the adjustment problems of Indian students in higher education and the particular need of Native American students for group support and special services. It then went on to state the following (Ibid.: 2): "The Educational

Opportunity Program at Oregon State University is charged with recruiting Native American students; yet this university does not provide a full-time Indian counselor and only a slight reflection in the curriculum that these students and their culture exist." The seminar's position paper went on to call for an Indian Studies Program "within the existing structure of the University's minority programs," seeing such a program as consisting of "a curriculum and an administrative body, as well as interaction with the Indian Club and the Indian community" (Ibid.: 4). This was seen as an interrelated set of components allowing Indian students "means by which they can articulate their interests to the various units of the University, receive both technical and humanistic courses relative to the needs of Indian communities and individuals, socially interact with Indian and non-Indian students, and involve persons from outside the University" (Ibid.).

Administratively, the position paper declared the need for a full-time Indian counselor and other Indian staff in EOP, with the Indian students having the decisive voice in their hiring and firing. The addition of such staff, it was stated, would reduce current lack of identification and alienation being experienced by Indian students. And it was concluded that "the primary need at this time is for a full-time Indian counselor" (Ibid.: 4-5).

The position paper next turned to the area of curriculum. Noted here was the fact that cultural pluralism applied in higher education as well as at other educational levels and that ethnic studies was a legitimate area of scholarship and research. Benefits from an Indian Studies Program would, if instituted, accordingly accrue to Indian and non-Indian students, with Indian students in particular receiving an education beyond technical training. Courses in political science, anthropology, sociology, religious studies, and the like were proposed as examples for inclusion in an Indian Studies Program (Ibid.: 5-9).

The document concluded with praise for the University relative to efforts being made for Blacks and Chicanos and urged similar actions for Native Americans. Changes were called for in recruiting more Indian faculty, institution of a Indian Studies Program, immediate hiring of Indian counselors and staff in the EOP, greater involvement of the Indian community within the University, and the various departments and schools of the University were asked to consider their relationships with the Native American students on campus. And in a final statement it was said: "We support and charge the University with the responsibility for increasing the number of Indian students, retaining those students, and advertising broadly and vigorously the opportunities for Indian students at Oregon

State. Strong support for previously mentioned steps will help accomplish this" (Ibid.: 9-10).

This document was to be presented with faculty and student signatures to the administration. Students in the seminar talked with faculty, students, student leaders, and administrators as well as circulating the document. Near the end of the seminar, faculty from several different departments were invited to express their views on offering more courses and support for Native American program development. Several indicated their willingness to do so, but at the same time most indicated the lack of resources as being a major problem. The Dean of Undergraduate Studies, the person responsible for minority and disadvantaged programs on campus, was also invited. He indicated his general support for the document, but he too cited the problem of resources. Meanwhile, seminar members continued to "fan out" across the campus in order to build support for a Native American program.

On May 30, 1972, the Vice-President of the Memorial Union introduced at a meeting of the Oregon State University Student Senate a resolution calling for the establishment of an Indian Studies Program, the hiring of Native American counselors and staff in EOP, and Indian faculty in the various departments of the University. This resolution was introduced given the efforts of the seminar's

students, and they were there to lobby for the resolution when it was introduced. Both Indian and non-Indian students spoke in support of it. After some debate, the resolution was passed by an affirmative vote of twenty-six, with two abstentions.

The Indian Education Seminar's efforts were important for several reasons. First, it had an impact on Indian students. Many Indian students worked together in a united effort for the first time; they became acquainted with Native Americans who were isolated and unknown to one another; Indians were thrust into various leadership roles; and the seminar provided an experience through which some Indians saw the need for and results of working through various persons and channels in order to build support for further Native American organization on campus. Second, the seminar provided a forum and platform from which administrators, faculty, and student body officers were made more aware of Indian leaders and students' viewpoints. For example, several key administrators pointed out how the seminar's efforts with the Oregon State University Student Senate, which gave strong support to Native American program development on campus, influenced University attitudes and policies toward Indian students. Third, there emerged from the seminar a candidate, a Native American graduate student, who became known to

administrators and EOP staff when the question of an Indian counseling role in EOP became not only a central demand but a viable administrative decision. Fourth, the presence and work of certain EOP staff members in the seminar enhanced the overall impact of the seminar's efforts with administrators and faculty, most notably with regard to the central demand for a Native American counselor in EOP.

Above all, though, the seminar's impacts (especially the resolution of the Oregon State University Student Senate and the fact that the Dean of Undergraduate Studies became aware and supportive of the seminar's general aim through his participation) came at a time when the University was re-examining the EOP structure in terms of its capacity for change, leadership, and the need to broaden the bases of ethnic participation and power for all groups within the EOP.

As noted in the discussion on recruitment and selection of staff for EOP, in the spring of 1972 the University was considering the appointment of a director of supportive services for minority and disadvantaged programs. According to several informants, this strategy was basically designed to restructure leadership within the EOP in terms of the directorship, promote greater development and change within the EOP, and allow for greater participation by all ethnic groups in the EOP structure.

The appointment of a new special services director over the EOP director and other programs for the disadvantaged, it was expected, would achieve these ends.

This strategy was opposed by certain ethnic students and by some within the EOP. There were apparently second thoughts within administrative circles about this strategy. Rather than upset existing staff relationships in EOP and substantially changing minority and disadvantaged student programs in structural terms a more limited strategy emerged. The decision was made to hire graduate assistants from each of the ethnic groups within EOP. These would be part-time persons who would counsel. This in essence set up counseling programs for the various ethnic groups in EOP.

In its position paper, the Indian Education Seminar had stressed that "the primary need at this time is for a full-time Indian counselor." In effect, the administration's response to that demand by the seminar, which was also a part of the Oregon State Student Senate's call for Native American program development on campus, was partly met by pointing out that there would now be funds for a one-third time Indian counselor and funds for a one-third time person for recruiting Indian students within the EOP. An Indian graduate student, who had been a member of the Indian Education Seminar, was appointed in the summer of

1972 on a part-time basis, And in August of 1972, the University asked the state legislature, in the University's 1973-1975 budget request, for fifty-five thousand dollars in order to operate a more fully developed Native American Counseling Program. This request of the legislature was given as one of the top priority needs of Oregon State University.

Thus by the fall of 1972 a beginning was pointed to on a Native American Counseling Program within the EOP with the appointment of a part-time Indian counselor, another part-time position for recruiting Indian students, and the request for further developmental funds from the state legislature. This Native American program section of the EOP represented the administration's response to the various demands raised during the spring by assorted groups in support of a more broadly defined Native American program, and this response pattern was related to the general context and policies that basically sought to avoid upsetting the status quo when it came to disadvantaged and minority programs on campus.

## CHAPTER VIII

## ETHNIC RELATIONS AND NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM SUPPORTS

A review of the emergence of structural conditions within the EOP showed Indian attitudes concerning ethnic group parity in the form of power, resources, and prestige within the EOP parent organization. Many Native Americans felt a relative deprivation in these areas for their group, even while recognizing their competition with other ethnic groups. However, given the shift of limited resources to Indians within EOP by the University, and the request for more developmental funds, there was raised the question of how Indians as a group could maximize their incipient program and promote its further development.

Native American program demands represented continuing questions of structural continuity and structural change for the EOP parent organization, the degree to which ethnic units within the EOP would have their own programs, the availability and control over resources relative to such programs, and the potentialities for ethnic group competition on a more manifest basis.

Native American program development at Oregon State University would thus demonstrate areas of consensus among participants, and at the same time it would show areas of conflict. The conflict would not be as overt as

at the University of Oregon, nor would it approximate the crisis conditions manifested in the Oregon case. Nonetheless, the issues of centralization, ethnic program autonomy, and control over resources were to be present in the Oregon State University situation.

The pace, scope, and shape of Native American program development varied among those who were most closely associated with disadvantaged and ethnic minority students on campus. What follows embodies the statements of various informants -- Indian students and leaders, EOP staff, faculty, and administrators. Their viewpoints are treated as the basis for delineating the state of ethnic relations and Native American program development in 1972-1973 on the issues of structure, ethnic program autonomy, ethnic conflict, and resources. These are weighted against preceding data on Native American student backgrounds and aspirations. A summary of consensus and conflict on the matter of Native American program development concludes the chapter.

#### Native American Student Backgrounds and Aspirations

Through a series of extended interviews, information was obtained from Native American students regarding their past, entrance into higher education, educational plans and goals, and academic and non-academic involvements at Oregon State. These data, as well as Indian student

perceptions of the college environment, the adjustment process and its related factors, are presented here as a data base for comparison with the views of EOP staff, faculty, and administrators regarding Native American adaptation and issues of Native American program development.

### Background and Educational Endeavors of the Native American Students

The Indian students were asked about their background; decision to enter college; choice of institution; what they would be doing if not going to an institution like Oregon State University; their educational and career objectives; and their academic progress and non-academic activities on campus.

Four of the eleven Indian students interviewed were male and seven were female. As a group, the Indian students were older, with ages ranging from eighteen to thirty-eight. Only four were eighteen or nineteen; and five of the students were in their late twenties or in their thirties. Seven of the students came from families with four or more siblings. Six indicated that one or more of their siblings were attending or had attended college; five indicated that one or more would attend college; only two said their siblings had no

college plans. Most of the Indian students were affiliated with either Washington or Oregon tribes. All but two were enrolled members of a tribe. Three were neither born on nor had they lived on a reservation. Two were not born on a reservation but had lived near one for several years, while a third was not born on a reservation but considered himself "on-reservation" for eleven years, despite extended time in the armed forces. Six of the Indian students indicated extended exposure to and involvement in the dominant culture, with a seventh indicating birth in an urban area but having lived all of his life on a reservation. Some examples of those who indicated considerable experience in the dominant culture were the following:

- I was born in Oakland, California. Lived in many off-reservation areas until age sixteen. I consider myself on-reservation since then (for eleven years) despite service experience.
- I grew up in Seattle, Washington. However, I was around the Quinalt Reservation, even though I was not born or lived on it.
- I was born in Denver, Colorado. Lived in many places, including Corvallis. No, I was never born or lived on a reservation. Corvallis is my reservation.
- I was born in Redding, California and raised in Santa Barbara, California from age five to twenty-three. I was never born or raised on a reservation.
- I was born in Edmond, Oklahoma and lived there until high school. Then I lived in Oregon. But I was not born on or have I lived on a reservation.

Only one of the Indian students had attended a boarding

school (Chemawa); this was for a period of two years. She noted with pride and emphasis that she was a "full-blood."

The Indian students were asked when and why they decided to go on to college. Three said they decided in high school; four said after high school; and three said they "just always wanted to go." Five indicated the reason for going on to college was for a career or better future; two cited the example or advice of parents; one had been in the Upward Bound Program; and three did not know or answer. Some sample comments by the students were:

- I had too many jobs where a high school education was needed to advance in the job or where education could mean a better job. I could see that a job without more education would lead nowhere.
- I became interested in health given my experience at Chemawa and high school; also health problems on the reservation.
- My parents expected me to go to college. Teachers encouraged me.

Nine of the students indicated that they had considered other institutions before settling on Oregon State University. When asked how they first heard of Oregon State, three indicated because of the Lummi Acquaculture Program; four knew someone who attended Oregon State or had been on campus; two because they lived near Oregon State; one because of Upward Bound experience at the University; and one because of reading about the EOP

and financial aid for Indian students. The reasons for choosing Oregon State were as follows: three said because it was recommended by the Lummi tribe; two because they knew the campus and people from Upward Bound and Oregon State was close to home; one because of EOP and financial aid assistance; one because of the quality of the education; three because of the location; and one said because of a counselor's advise. Some sample comments were:

- The Northwest was appealing to me, and I could afford to come to OSU.
- OSU was recommended by the Lummi tribe.
- OSU could give me the training I needed after hitting a plateau in my job.
- Close to my family and got Oregon cash award.

When asked what they would be doing if they did not have the opportunity or chance to go to Oregon State University, six of the students said they would be working, one that she would be a housewife, and four that they would be attending another institution. Several of the students recognized that the University and its financial assistance gave them opportunity for higher status and that the alternative was something less. Some comments were as follows on alternative plans to an opportunity or chance to attend Oregon State:

- Unemployed or a common laborer.
- Probably going to another college.

- Would still try to get into another institution. Would not be able to advance beyond job in iron works plant.
- Sitting home.
- Probably gone to University of Washington or to trade school or work on aquaculture program at home. I really wanted higher education.
- Waitressing.

The Native American students were asked about their educational and career objectives. When asked the highest degree they expected to attain, four students mentioned a bachelor's degree, four a master's degree, and three a doctorate (Ph.D. or M.D.). The student's contemplated majors and career plans are shown below in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5

PROBABLE MAJOR FIELDS AND CAREER PLANS OF INDIAN STUDENTS

<u>Major</u>	<u>Career</u>
Pharmacy	Pharmacy
Elementary Education	Elementary Education Teacher
Fisheries	Fisheries
Zoology (pre-medicine)	Medical research
Business Administration	Accounting
Fisheries	Fisheries
Pre-medicine	Medical Technology
Office Administration	Legal secretary
Mental Health (psychology)	College teaching
Sociology	Counseling (youth)
Fisheries	Fisheries

Ten of the eleven Indian students indicated they would be working in some area of Indian affairs after graduation. Seven stated they would do so on their own reservation,

while three indicated service to the Indian community by way of an agency helping Native Americans. Some sample comments were:

- I will work on the Quinalt Reservation's hatchery. I would like to counsel Indian students to go on to college and do work in anything they are good at.
- Work in the health area of my reservation--as an Indian doctor.
- Work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the area of counseling.
- Expect to work on Lummi Reservation, helping community in fisheries.
- I am going back to Warm Springs and work in the Tribal Business Office. I came back to get more skills and to also help trainees in tribal business and college students.
- Work in U.S. Indian Health Service.

Indian students were asked about their academic progress at Oregon State University. Six of the students indicated their chances of finishing at Oregon State were as follows: "Very good" in three cases, two said "pretty good," and one "good." Five others were not sure. Of these five, all indicated they would be staying in school, but that they might change schools. Only one indicated such a transfer might be due to academic problems ("Every term is by the skin of my teeth"). Among the students interviewed there was one senior, three juniors, four sophomores, and three freshmen. Four of the students had been admitted under the three percent rule; the others met

regular admission requirements. All of the students were taking four or more courses for credit. Seven indicated they liked the courses they were taking, while four had mixed positive and negative feelings. Nine said they were doing all right in the courses, only two had mixed reactions. In their self-report on grades, the students' responses showed two who were above a 3.0 grade point average; three who were in a 2.5 to 3.0 range; three who were in the 2.0 to 2.5 range; and three who were below 2.0. In this latter case, all of the students were freshmen.

Indian students were asked about non-academic organizational activities on campus. Only three of the students said they were working for pay,<sup>9</sup> these being on work study funds. Three girls indicated they were active in inter-mural athletic activities. Two said they were active in minority-related University committees, with one being very active in these events. Seven of the Indian students

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<sup>9</sup> Most students indicated satisfaction with their financial aid. Eight of the Indian students had received Bureau of Indian Affairs' grants; four tribal grants; eight educational opportunity grants; four had National Defense Loans; two had Native American Student Union awards; two had scholarships; one was on the G.I. Bill in part; one on vocational rehabilitation funds; and three on work study. Financial aid, as self-reported, ranged from sixteen hundred dollars to seven thousand dollars for one person with several children. Excluding two persons with large families, which together had thirteen thousand dollars, the average for the remaining nine students was around twenty-five hundred dollars in financial aid.

indicated that they were members of the Native American Student Union. Generally, most of the students were not active in campus affairs of a traditional nature (e.g., student government, fraternities, etc.) and only one was exceptionally active in minority-related activities. Comments by students and observation indicated limited participation by many in the affairs of the Native American Student Union.

#### The Native American Students' Perceptions of the Institution

The Indian students' adaptations to the college environment at Oregon State University was explored in terms of the students' perceptions of Oregon State University, the local community, what the major problems were that the students faced at Oregon State or in the community, the EOP, and in part the Native American program section of EOP (which is evaluated more fully in a later section). The perceptions of EOP staff, faculty, and administrators concerning Indian student adaptation were pursued.

The Indian students were asked what their feelings were when they first came to Oregon State University and how they felt about it now. On the whole, the Native American students had very positive feelings toward the institution when they first came. Some expressed initial apprehension but were still positive in their comments. The size of the institution was one apprehension. As one

student said: "I felt scared and it was an adjustment. But I felt very good about it." This person said, "I like it," when asked about current attitudes. Others said, for example, the following as initial reactions: "It was a nice place," and "Pretty great place," or "really liked it." All continued to like it. In fact, only one person expressed a negative comment as an initial reaction, seeing the institution as "impersonal" and "conservative." This person continued to feel that way in 1972-1973. But this person went on to say that he had found EOP to be the opposite on this score. Except for him, all others (ten students) continued to have positive feelings toward the institution in 1972-1973. Thus there was a significant maintenance of positive attitudes.

The Native American students were then asked what some of the things were that they liked and disliked about Oregon State University. The students' answers in an open-ended format revealed five positive comments about the students or people in general at the University, three regarding faculty and teaching, one comment about just being in college, five positive comments about the academic (e.g., courses, curriculum, etc.) aspect of the institution, three positive comments on the EOP, one for the Native American counselor, and one for extracurricular activities. Some examples of positive comments about the

institution were as follows:

- Like its friendliness, even with fifteen-thousand students. I feel very good about it because of the EOP. I almost flunked out in the fall term of 1971, and the EOP really helped me.
- I like the people, students, and teachers -- mainly the people.
- Can talk with students in my classes.
- Good fisheries program. I like the EOP office. I could not have made it this far without them.
- Good for family person. I like the professors. They will talk with you. They have a variety of courses.
- The sports or student activities.
- I like the Native American counselor and the EOP. They are always there if you need help, or they ask how you are doing.
- Classes are challenging. I get along well with everyone.

Three students had dislikes about Oregon State in terms of academics (grading and courses); two mentioned location; one physical features (weather and campus physical facilities); two the lack of more Indian students and the failure to hire a full-time Indian counselor; and one concerning dorm life. Some examples of these dislikes were:

- It is hard on my wife. She is not used to being away from home.
- Some of the crazy courses -- math and algebra.
- They are two-faced about Indians. University could have hired a good Indian counselor but did not get her.

- It is not good for single persons, Nothing to do here. I like urban areas.

The Indian students were specifically asked how they felt about the other students at Oregon State University. In the open-ended question on this, six of the students had positive feelings; two did not know; two did not have any feelings one way or the other; and one person expressed negative feelings. One student said the following: "They are fine. Lots of competition; and they are high caliber students." A more negative note was as follows: "They don't seem to come across too well. Each term is different. May know a student one term, but then you never see him again. They turn their head on you when they see you."

The Indian students' satisfaction with students, the academic aspect of the institution, faculty and teaching, the administration, and the EOP became clearer in a set of non-open-ended questions. Generally, the Indian students were satisfied with these various institutional features of Oregon State University. These results are shown in Table 9.

When the Indian students were asked if they felt they were a part of Oregon State University, or "belonged," nine of the students had positive feelings, saying they belonged. One had mixed feelings, saying "sometimes I wonder." And another said: "Not really. Just a place

TABLE 9  
 INDIAN STUDENTS' SATISFACTION WITH SELECTED INSTITUTIONAL  
 FEATURES OF OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

<u>Selected Feature</u>	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
OSU's academic reputation	4	6	---	1	---
The intellectual environment	4	6	---	---	1
Faculty-student relations	3	7	1	---	---
The quality of classroom instruction	1	7	2	---	2
The variety of courses I can take	3	5	3	---	---
Friendships with other students	6	5	---	---	---
The administration	2	6	1	1	1
The Educational Opportunity Program	6	2	1	2	---

to get an education. I have a negative attitude."

The Native American students were asked how the other students in the Native American program section of EOP felt about Oregon State University. Four students said that others probably liked it; three that they did not like it; one who felt some did and others did not; and three who did not know. One who said other Indian students liked Oregon State put it as follows: "Some hate it. Most like it and feel that what we came for we got. There are ways to solve problems." Another who saw other Indian students as disliking Oregon State said: "They don't like it. I am pretty positive of that. This is the response I get from a lot of them." The difference in individual perceptions about how other Indian students felt and their reported high positive feelings for Oregon State would, in part, be explained by the lack of interaction with other Indian students, and there was a consistent complaint among the students about the lack of Indian unity on the campus.

This in part is revealed in how the Indian students viewed the major problems Native Americans faced at Oregon State. When asked what the major problems were that Indians faced at Oregon State, Indian students mentioned most often problems of social adjustment to the University or the fact there was a lack of group numbers or group unity to

promote social interaction among Indian students. These comments were as follows:

- Loneliness. Too many Indians withdraw and are non-communicative because they are careful.
- There is no cohesion among the Indian students. There is not enough friendship. They are too individual among themselves. For myself, study is my main bag.
- Indian students don't get together enough, or they are not communicating enough.
- The lack of large numbers of Indians, particularly those from the reservation. The lack of togetherness or unity. Academic problems.
- Socially. Indian students won't interact with non-Indian students. They seem to interact with only Indian students. There are not enough Indians around to do things expected by whites who need Indians.
- Being away from home or reservation for so long. They are not used to this. Learning to be social. Being away from their families.
- To be accepted. But first they must learn to accept themselves,
- Adjusting academically and socially to a new environment. Mainly academic for me.
- Problem is not OSU. But the backgrounds of students create problems.
- The main problem is for the reservation Indians who have no community or relatives here.

Thus, Indian students generally put forth as the major problems of Native Americans as the lack of an adequate socio-cultural Indian community on campus and the socio-cultural problems that stemmed from being absent from the home community.

To further examine the relationship between Indian student adaptation and the University, the Indian students' feelings toward the local community were examined. Most of the Indian students liked the local community when they first came and continued to feel that way in 1972-1973. Only four students made negative comments, such as "pretty dead" or "conservative" to describe it. One student felt the "community was bigger than any place I had been" and "I was scared." But these feelings soon dissipated. Recreational opportunities and size of the community were mentioned by some students as positive features of the community. Most students did not know or just liked it when asked. Two, however, said "they are always after your money." Only one Indian student mentioned as a dislike "snobs and prejudice." While another saw the local community as not knowing how to interact with Indians, concluding "there is not any prejudice or discrimination here." And one student disliked the fact "I can't find a place for my horse." Generally, Indian students liked the local community, continued to feel that way, but with some indicating it was conservative and bent on making money off students. Only one indicated possible feelings of prejudice toward Indians.

Eight of the Indian students felt they "belonged" to the local community, while "I feel like a transient"

summarized another viewpoint. Native American students varied in how they thought other Indian students felt about the local community. Four thought, as one stated, "Like me. They don't like it." Three indicated others like it. While one did not know, three others saw fellow Indian students as feeling like "transients," not involved," or "some being happy, some not." When asked what major problems Indian students faced in the local community, six said "none" and one did not know. As one said: "I have not encountered any problems. There is not prejudice, harshness, or meanness here." Only one mentioned "prejudice" as a problem, adding there was a "lack of understanding of Indian culture" in the local community. Three others saw problems stemming from the lack of an adequate Indian community on campus or the adjustment problems associated with coming from the reservation. Thus as one saw the problem: "Homesickness for many. They grew up in a closed environment. I am a loner and can get along well in this environment. Indian students don't really deal with the local community. I have heard no reports of prejudice or discrimination." Another saw the problem as being "lack of Indian numbers and thus a community to socialize in" and "local community unawareness of Indian culture and Indians." And a third student saw Indian students as coming from "a small community and different

environment" and feeling "temporarily lost until they get their bearings." Generally, then, Indian students did not perceive the local community as hostile toward them as Indians per se. Most did not appear to have adaptation problems to the local community as such. However, some students again pointed to the problem as being one of an adequate Indian community on campus.

Also central to the adaptation of Indian students to the University environment, as for other minority and disadvantaged students, is the major structure provided by the institution for helping in the adaptation process. Thus Indian students' feelings toward the EOP were examined. As noted previously, eight of the Indian students were satisfied (six being very satisfied) with EOP generally, with three being dissatisfied (two being very dissatisfied). These general feelings were subsequently examined more specifically in terms of selected aspects of the EOP.

Generally, the Indian students were satisfied with the services provided by the EOP to students in such areas as counseling, assistance with personal problems, tutoring assistance, financial aids, and orientation to the institution when they first came. Only on the question of EOP's assistance in dealing with housing or dorm problems was there some apparent dissatisfaction and lack of opinion, the latter probably being based on non-use of the service.

Some indication of Indian student use of EOP services and the role of the Native American counselor was obtained when students were asked about certain special services they received. Six students indicated they had received counseling assistance from the Indian counselor and other EOP staff; four indicated they had not used the service but with one commenting it was there "if I need it." Only one student said that assistance had been sought and there was "no following through" on the request. Seven students indicated they were receiving tutoring assistance in one or more courses (math being the most frequently mentioned), with one mentioning the Indian counselor in this regard. Two said they had not used the tutoring assistance service (one of whom was tutoring others); one "asked but did not get" tutoring assistance, while another was "not sure EOP will help" and therefore sought assistance elsewhere. Five of the students indicated they had not used the special courses through EOP; six had used one or more of the courses (Math 50 in particular).

Eight of the Indian students expressed satisfaction with the staff of the EOP (with five being very satisfied). The Indian students apparently had mixed feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, with several who were not sure, on the EOP's relationship to the community outside the University, and the EOP's relationships with the

faculty and administration. And there was no crystallized dissatisfaction with recruiting by EOP: five saying they were satisfied, three saying they were not, and four not being sure.

In a series of questions more directly affecting the relationship between EOP and Native Americans, there were mixed reactions generally among the students and several who were not sure about the function of EOP in the promotion of Indian values and culture, while the remainder split between those satisfied and dissatisfied. Five Indian students indicated satisfaction with building a sense of Indian identity relative to EOP, with three being dissatisfied and three not being sure. Seven of the students were not sure about the function of EOP in helping to learn about Indian events around the state of Oregon and in the Pacific Northwest, with four expressing dissatisfaction with EOP in this area. In terms of the function of EOP in helping to learn non-Indian culture while retaining Indian values and identity, there were again mixed feelings and uncertainty: three being satisfied, four being dissatisfied, and four not being sure. The opportunity the EOP provided Indian students to learn about other Indian tribes and communities found a similar pattern. Here two students were satisfied, four were dissatisfied, and five were not sure. However, when Indian

students were asked about the relationship between EOP and the opportunity it provided to know other students on a personal and friendly basis, a clear majority of seven expressed dissatisfaction, with three being satisfied, and one not being sure.

The Indian students' satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the EOP structure in these various selected areas is shown in Figure 6.

The Indian students were asked many of the preceding questions about the EOP as they related to their perceived satisfaction with the Native American program section of the EOP. It is thus possible to note here similar and differential structural and functional reference between the EOP and the Native American program section in the perceptions of Native American students relative to adaptation.

When comparing Indian students' perceptions of EOP and the Native American program section on questions of promoting Indian values and culture, building a sense of Indian identity, and learning non-Indian culture and retaining Indian values and identity, there is little apparent shift in perceptions when it comes to either structural referent. The mixed feelings and large number of those who are not sure remains. These relationships were apparently not perceived at the time as clearly

FIGURE 6

INDIAN STUDENTS' SATISFACTION WITH SELECTED ASPECTS OF  
THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

<u>Selected Aspects</u>	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
Counseling service	6	3	---	1	1
Assistance with personal problems	5	3	1	2	---
Tutoring assistance	8	1	---	2	---
Promotion of Indian values and culture	2	1	2	1	5
Help with financial aids	6	2	2	1	---
Relations with the community outside the University	2	1	2	2	4
Academic advising	5	3	1	1	1
Building a sense of Indian identity	2	3	2	1	3
Orientation to college when I first came	5	2	---	2	2
Assistance in dealing with housing or dorm problems	2	1	3	1	4
Learning about Indian events around the state and in the Northwest	---	---	2	2	7
Learning non-Indian culture while retaining Indian values and identity	2	1	3	1	4
Recruiting by the program	1	4	1	2	3
The staff	5	3	3	---	---
Relations with the administration	4	1	1	1	4
Relations with the faculty	4	1	2	---	4
Opportunity program provides to know other Indian students on a personal and friendly basis.	2	1	6	1	1
Opportunity program provides to learn about other Indian tribes and communities	2	---	1	3	5

manifest functions of either structural unit by all of the Indian students, although it will be noted later that many said this was an ideal of the Native American program or as others said something they expected.

Greater definition of structure and function became clearer, however, on other questions. When the social aspect of how a given structure was operating to develop a sense of Indian group interaction and identity on campus was considered, there was greater perceptual crystallization by the Indian students. Thus, seven students expressed dissatisfaction with the opportunity provided by both the EOP and its Native American program section when it came to knowing other Indian students on a more friendly and personal basis. But where seven students were not sure about the function of the EOP in helping Indian students to learn about Indian events around the state of Oregon and in the Pacific Northwest, five expressed dissatisfaction with the Native American program section and three expressed satisfaction. Here the Native American program section was apparently more clearly perceived as doing this or failing to it than the EOP. Another important shift in the Indian students' perceptions occurred on the question of learning about other tribes and communities. While five were not sure about this relative to EOP, only two indicated not knowing relative to the

Native American program section. Six students expressed dissatisfaction with the Native American program section on learning about other Indian tribes and communities. Thus, while Indian students did not manifestly separate in functional terms the EOP structure from the Native American program section on questions of Indian identity and culture, they did so on questions related to providing a sense of social interaction, identity, and group unity for Indian students on campus. It would appear that Indian students generally expected, and some were generally dissatisfied with, the Native American program section to provide a sense of group cohesiveness and identity for Indian students on campus more than the EOP as a general structure.

Also with regard to EOP generally and the Native American program section specifically, there were apparent shifts in two other areas. Nine of the Indian students expressed general satisfaction with the EOP's counseling service; only four did relative to the Native American program section's counseling service. Here five students' expressed dissatisfaction compared with one person who was dissatisfied with the EOP in this area. Apparently this was more an expression of dissatisfaction with the degree of development of the Native American Counseling Program than with the Indian counselor, who received strong support

and approval from the students, Native American students expected more than what existed in this area; hence the degree of dissatisfaction. Another area of shifting was in academic advising. While eight students were satisfied with EOP generally and only two were dissatisfied, only five were satisfied with this area relative to the Native American Counseling Program and five were dissatisfied. Here again it would appear that Native American students were expecting more than they perceived they were getting. In terms of a Native American Counseling Program operating to provide counseling and academic advising services relative to Indian student adaptation, then, there were perceived functions which fell short of expectations.

While there was a mixed response pattern and uncertainty relative to the more general functions of Indian identity and culture relative to both the EOP structure and the Native American program structure, there was crystallization on activities which revolved around interpersonal relations and group unity relative to structures. Native American students tended to see the Native American program section as a focal point around which potential existed for greater group interaction, unity, and identity for Indian students on campus. Similarly, they had expectations in the areas of counseling

and academic advising. That the Native American program section of EOP was achieving or failing to work toward these ends is related to the question of adaptation. As was noted, most of the Indian students saw the lack of Indian numbers, group unity, and identity -- in brief, the lack of an adequate Indian socio-cultural community on campus--as one of the major problems in the adaptation process. The Native American Counseling Program was viewed as much as a mechanism for building greater unity among Indian students on campus as it was expected to provide counseling and academic advising services.

The Indian students' perceptions of the Native American program section as an adaptive mechanism was further clarified when they were asked what they thought the program's objectives were. Five of the Indian students indicated in their initial statements that the Native American program section's objectives involved the acculturational function of adapting the Indian to the University system; four saw the objectives as being essentially the enculturational function, where the program operated to promote Indian social unity or culture on campus; one who did not know and another who felt the program was merely a "public relations scheme" by the University so it could say it had Indian students. Of those who saw the program as one of helping Indian students adapt to the University

system and succeed in it, some sample comments were as follows:

- To get Indian students through college and to have something (career, knowing something you can contribute to your reservation) to show for it.
- To recruit more students and get them educated so they can adapt. They try to eliminate educational problems.
- To get Indian students through school.

Of those emphasizing the enculturational function in the adaptation process, some sample comments were as follows:

- To help Indian students to get to know one another from different tribes,
- To help the Indian to be an Indian and not become a white man.
- To provide classes on Indian culture.

Secondary comments by three of the four who emphasized the enculturational side of the program also saw acculturation to the college environment as an objective. As one put it, there should be "a good counseling program to help incoming Indian students to adjust."

EOP staff, administrators, and faculty were asked about their perceptions of Indian adaptation at Oregon State University. First, they were asked about the characteristics of the Indian students.

EOP staff gave different perceptions of the Indian students' characteristics. One emphasized that the

reservation and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had affected Indian students so that they were circumspect: "You must probe them for an answer; they don't rush an answer in a counseling situation." Another noted that there were numerous tribal groups represented by Indian students at Oregon State University; and that this led to internal differences and a lack of group unity among the Indian students. A third staff member noted their poverty, and that some had a good education at the community college level before coming to the University. With proper counseling, this person added, Indian students could make it; the crucial time was the first quarter and the first year on campus. A fourth staff member noted their low incomes, deficient educational backgrounds, and their lack of involvement in University and community affairs. This person said that this failure to "mix" more in the University and community was being worked on by encouraging students to interact with the Association for the Advancement of Urban Indians in order to increase inter-Indian family contacts and there was an effort being made to encourage students to participate in University affairs. Lack of group cohesion, involvement in University or community affairs and a general tendency toward withdrawal was therefore noted by EOP staff,

The tendency toward withdrawal was also noted by a high level administrator when he said: "There is lack of

communication. They represent the culture they come from." Another administrator characterized the Indian students as follows: "If they came from good backgrounds, they would do well. But they are people who have ill-defined goals, poor academic preparation, may lack peer or parental support. They don't have the tools to survive in this environment." A third administrator said he only knew a few Indian students. His "general impression" was that they did a good job, but "were behind given their cultural background." A fourth administrator indicated he knew only a few Indian students and only one very well. Generally, administrators interviewed characterized the Indian students as educationally disadvantaged or having adjustment problems given their cultural background.

Faculty were also asked to characterize the Indian students in EOP. One faculty member noted their lack of militancy. Another said he had known only two Indian students. One in class had adjustment problems; the other did not. A third faculty member noted low economic status for one-half the students and adequate resources for the other half from the tribe and Bureau of Indian Affairs. Educationally, he noted, they were at a disadvantage with the Anglo student, since Indians were socio-psychologically hesitant to be put on the spot and identified as Indians. Another faculty member noted that Indians were individuals,

but they were "generally reserved, industrious, and very willing to drop the whole thing when difficulty arises." He added that "the greater the contact with the non-reservation world, the tougher and longer staying they are." A fifth faculty member noted that Indian students were "less organized and less aggressive in terms of their rights when compared to Blacks or Chicanos." Four other faculty had "no general impression" or did not know given limited contact to a few students or student leaders. For those willing or able to characterize Native American students at Oregon State University, the withdrawn, quiet, and reserved picture was prevalent, based upon acknowledged faculty contacts of a limited nature with the students.

Staff in EOP, administrators, and faculty were also questioned about their perceptions of how Indian students felt about being at Oregon State University.

Three EOP staff members felt the Indian students generally had negative feelings about their experiences at Oregon State. Thus as one staff member said: "They don't like it any better than others. Not a friendly environment." A second person said the Indian students felt the University had little to offer them, and their small numbers and the consequent lack of an Indian community contributed to those feelings. A third person saw some of the students being at Oregon State to obtain an education;

and this was due to their desire to "stick it out" rather than anything the University had done. Oregon State, this person added, helped the Lummi Indians, But most of the students did not "like the fact Oregon State University has not really made a commitment" to Native Americans on the campus. A fourth staff member felt some of the students were "happy to be here," and they "want to continue their education." This was seen as particularly true of Lummi Indians, but that for Warm Springs it was probably less so.

Administrators saw the Indian students as having adjustment problems and consequently feeling "confused," "intimidated by the size of the institution," and "not very happy." One administrator saw "some confusion" for the students, but they were "friendly and open with you." To another administrator, confusion was defined as follows: "Why and what they are here for. I would like to see the tribes push forward students to come here. This would be better than our going out and recruiting them." And another administrator pointed out that Indian students within EOP were "not very happy," but they were not all of the Indians on campus, implying that many unknown Indians were adapting to and liked the University.

Six faculty members saw the Indian students as feeling varying degrees of dissatisfaction with Oregon

State University; three did not know. One faculty member put it this way: "It (education) is a necessary evil for them. Education is necessary to Indians and their experiences are demeaning and difficult in a white-dominated academic culture." A second faculty member said Indian students were "very alienated, frustrated, pretty hopeless in accomplishing things here." Another emphasized that the Indian students saw the development of an Indian community on campus as a long way off, and that there was a "feeling of dissatisfaction to some hopefulness for certain developments." Hopefulness, he stated, stemmed from the fact that "some people are doing something." A fourth faculty member saw Indian students going home and the University losing them, concluding that Oregon State was a "cold environment." Another faculty member saw one Indian student relating well to the University, but others probably were not. And a sixth saw the Indian students as feeling alone, "unrepresented in EOP," and they felt the lack of a "headquarters or center" and a "strong social group" on campus.

Informants were asked how the Native American students were adjusting to the institution (Oregon State University).

Three EOP staff members saw Native American adjustment as difficult, with a fourth stating that some adjusted and some did not. Indian student adjustment was seen as

"poorly on the whole" by one of three indicating problems. A second stated the following: "Adjustment is very little. They have the highest dropout rate here. Have not stuck to it as others have." And a third staff member said "they find it hard" to adjust. Some tended to withdraw, this person said, while others "are really committed." The largeness of the institution and "lack of a place to go where they can be with other Indian students" made adjustment difficult.

Administrators generally acknowledged lack of information on the adjustment of Native American students to the University. As one top level administrator stated: "It (adjustment) has been at best moderately well. This is an impression based on limited contact." A second said he did not know. But then he added: "Depends on which Indians. Rumors are that EOP ones take longer to feel comfortable here." While a third did not know, a fourth administrator had felt the adjustment of Indian students was going well. After talking with a Native American student leader on the number of Indian students dropping out, he concluded "there is something wrong."

Five faculty said the Indian students they knew were adjusting well; three others did not know and one other said "some adjust and some don't." One faculty member commented: "Several have done well--they are adaptable

peoples; others are not adaptable. It is a partial function of age and experience with white bureaucracy." Another said of Indian student adjustment: "Pretty well generally. They have maintained academic adequacy." A third saw their adjustment as "probably better than other minority groups." The "two students I know have made good adjustments," said a fourth faculty member. And a fifth said: "Ones I know are pretty assimilated to the society and don't have problems here."

Issues in Native American Program Development:  
Points of View

Members of the different categories of people related to and involved in Native American adjustment at Oregon State had quite different points of view regarding many of the issues in Native American program development. Questions of what kind of a structure, how much program autonomy, how to deal with and minimize inter-ethnic conflict, and the allocation of resources to support Native American adjustment, reveal the variance in attitudes both between and within different categories of people involved.

In an effort to more fully examine the ethnic relations and Native American program supports at OSU, the following discussion examines, in turn, the points of view of Indian students and leaders, EOP staff, administrators, and faculty.

### Indian Leaders and Students

In the fall of 1972 Native American students and leaders at Oregon State University launched their counseling program within the EOP parent organization. Native American program development for the 1972-1973 academic year, the period covered by this study, found a part-time Indian counselor and another part-time position for recruiting (which went unfilled throughout most of the academic year, much to the chagrin of Native American leaders). There were also some Indian students on work study monies in the fall of 1972 that assisted the Indian counselor in recruiting Native American students.

The Indian counselor shared office space with other EOP personnel. Nonetheless, in the fall of 1972, Indian leaders increasingly turned the allotted office space into a center not only for counseling but also for socializing and communication for Indians on campus. Indians proceeded to hang up posters of Indian culture heroes. Leaders of the Native American Student Union assisted in recruiting efforts, met in the office to discuss Indian involvement in University affairs, and planned the activities of the student union. Communications available to the Indian counselor were used to promote Indian group efforts on and off-campus.

The Indian counselor's activities were a part of the

general counseling component of the EOP; therefore, the counselor was expected to counsel other students as well as Native Americans. The EOP's counseling coordinator structured counseling assignments; thus the allocation of counselees and counselors rested within EOP. This system was designed to ensure "cross-cultural counseling" by the counselors, regardless of their ethnic background. The tendency was for a counselor to counsel and advise persons from his or her own ethnic background, but this person would also have clients from other ethnic backgrounds.

The Indian counselor was advising, counseling, helping with tutors, and assisting in other service areas for Indian and non-Indian students. At the same time, as during the fall and winter terms of 1972-1973, the Indian counselor was expected to help select and recruit Indian students from high schools and community colleges throughout the state of Oregon. The Indian counselor was also active in the affairs of the Native American Student Union. Increasingly this person was sought out as a source of information on Indian students by different parties and units of the University. And the Native American counselor worked with some faculty and in general sought to promote the further development of a Native American curriculum which reflected Indian history and culture as a part of a broader conception of Native American

program development on the Oregon State Univeristy campus.

The Indian counselor was thus performing many roles-- counselor, academic adviser, recruiter, Indian representative within and outside of the EOP, source of identity for Indian students, and advocate of further Native American program development within the EOP and the University. Combined in this role-set were administrative, service, and advocacy elements. Most of these roles were compacted within one person, and their interpretation was limited by such factors as the need to work within the established framework of the EOP structure, the lack of an independent or adequate resource base for a Native American Counseling Program, the part-time nature of the role, the lack of other Indian staff, and the absence of greater Indian student numbers.

As the fall of 1972 unfolded, however, Indian leaders became more dissatisfied with the status of Native Americans within the EOP and University. When Indians were in the process of turning their limited office space within the EOP into a center of Indian group activity, this trend was soon opposed by the director of the EOP. It was said that the director stated that too many Indian students were "hanging around" the office shared with other EOP staff, taking up space and time which detracted from the main tasks of the EOP and its Indian counselor. The EOP's

position stemmed from a viewpoint that office space and the Indian counselor's role were primarily related to supportive services for students; other activities related to Indians should be pursued through the Native American Student Union and the cultural center facility the University provided and which was shared at scheduled times by various ethnic groups within EOP. Native American leaders did not draw as sharp a line between that which was academic and that which was relateable to the development and promotion of an Indian community on campus. Rather, Indian leaders clearly viewed the counseling program as a vehicle which encompassed a broader definition of Native American program development and activities than given by EOP.

Strains in the relationship between Indian leaders and EOP, then, came in the area of the nature of the Indian role in EOP and the opportunity to interpret it within the EOP structure and ideology. Indian leaders stated that increasingly the Indian counselor had to clear communications with the EOP director. They pointed to the part-time nature of the role, the many responsibilities involved, and how this called for additional Native American staff. Rather than more Indian staff, however, Native Americans pointed to the failure to fill the part-time recruiting role allocated for Indians in EOP. Further, it was said, the Indian counselor's role was not a "senior staff"

position, the type which involved substantive administrative decision-making in the EOP structure. As one Indian leader stated, the EOP's personnel positions were held primarily by Blacks and Chicanos, with Indians "getting the crumbs because Blacks and Chicanos have the power and influence."

Contributing to Native American leaders' dissatisfaction with the EOP and the University as the 1972-1973 academic year progressed was the uncertainty of the small resource base allocated to them for Native American program development and the uncertainty associated with its future development. Native American leaders found that their allocated resources were few when compared to other groups in EOP, and they found them subject to control by others within EOP and the University. The University's request for further resources was a future promise, one contingent upon the vagaries of the legislative process, let alone administrative decisions within the University and the EOP. After initial enthusiasm, Native American leaders came to recognize the limits of the resources they had within the structural and ideological arrangements of the EOP; they came to recognize the uncertainties associated with anticipated but as yet allocated funds. While there was disenchantment given this situation, there also developed what Indian leaders considered to be a more

realistic assessment of their position and its future.

According to Indian leaders, even if the Native American counselor's role were to be made full-time, there would not be any substantial changes given the power of the EOP director and the structure and ideology of the EOP. The EOP's director was viewed as thwarting the development of a more autonomous and Indian-directed program within EOP. The director's actions with regard to Indian use of office space, failure to fill the allocated recruiting role for Native Americans, controlling communications of the Indian counselor, failure to demonstrate sufficient support for making the Indian role within EOP full-time, his failure to include Native Americans more directly in EOP decision-making, and a perceived favoritism for his own ethnic group--all were cited as reasons for distrust of EOP leadership.

At the same time, Indian leaders -- and some Indian students -- indicated an awareness that the University and EOP did not encourage the emergence of strong corporate groupings within the EOP structure; that there was only supposed to be the emergence of ethnic categories within EOP and/or the University. Ideally, as Indian leaders analyzed it, the EOP structure was to serve and accommodate all ethnic groups. Realistically, however, they viewed the structure as dominated by Blacks first and Chicanos

second.

Even with a full-time Native American counselor-recruiter, Indian leaders stated, Native American program design and development within and outside of the EOP would be hampered in the promotion and development of an Indian corporate viewpoint. University policies and attitudes were seen as preserving the status quo within EOP. This was usually expressed as a lack of commitment by the University to Indians as a group. Thus as one Native American leader summarized these feelings: "Unless the Indian counselor is an associate director or completely free to act on his own, then nothing will happen, even if full-time. OSU wants an Indian counselor, but OSU is not ready to give an Indian staff member real autonomy and the independence that is needed."

Native Americans leaders at Oregon State University stated that the part-time, or even full-time, presence of a Native American counselor and/or recruiter was a minimum Native American program design and development on campus. Despite the niggardly resources provided to them in the 1972-1973 academic year within the EOP and University, Indian leaders came to view these as cultural resources that might offer one means for a more corporate Native American group and a more fully developed Native American program. These expectations were buttressed by the

University's request for a more developed Native American Counseling Program within EOP.

Out of their experiences and frustrations, Native American leaders came to desire a full or a maximum program. Although this maximum program was never explicitly spelled out in written form, it did have precedents in the Indian Education Seminar report of 1972 and the experiences of Native Americans within EOP.

This maximum program put a greater emphasis upon Indian-direction, Indian control over resources, and Indian-orientation than existed in the EOP. It emphasized a more distinct Native American program in EOP, more Indian studies courses on campus (which would be articulated to and concerned with Native American program development in EOP), more services to all Indian students on campus, the ability to work directly and alone with Indian students rather than dividing time with other ethnic students; a Native American staff member who was co-equal to other ethnic directors in EOP, and the greater ability of Indian staff members to articulate and communicate with University units without being hampered by the EOP structure. Also envisioned were facilities for a Native American counselor who would be able to meet with Indian students in a setting that was their own; one where posters, books, and other symbols of Indian culture promoted

socializing, counseling, and Indian identity. This approached the concept of a cultural center for Native Americans as a part of Native American program design. Thus there would be a greater cultural emphasis than existed in a counseling-recruiting program that provided straight supportive services to Indian students. Internal to Oregon State University, then, there was to be greater Native American program autonomy and distinctiveness according to this vision.

Externally, the maximum program suggested the greater articulation of the Native American program and community at Oregon State University with reservation and urban communities of Indians. Native American leadership contact with and involvement of the locally-based Association for the Advancement of Urban Indians was one example of following through on this strategy. Contacts with Native Americans in other settings of higher education were emphasized. (In the summer of 1974, for example, a conference was held at Oregon State University concerning Native Americans in higher education, a meeting in which the Native American counselor at Oregon State figured prominently.)

Throughout the 1972-1973 academic year, the Native American counselor was asserting a role in a manner both internally and externally to promote a broader definition of Native American program design and development. The

objective was to promote a greater assertion of Indian group interests with University influentials, such as faculty, as well as developing contacts with Indian groups external to the University system.

Thus the maximum Native American program design and development envisioned by Indian leaders revolved around two foci. First, a more distinct, autonomous, and self-determining Native American program that allowed Indians to have greater control and participation regarding their own education than existed. More Indian students and staff, an Indian staff member co-equal to other ethnic directors within the EOP structure, a greater Indian voice in resources going to Native Americans in EOP, and the freedom of Indian staff to communicate and contact more freely University units and influentials on behalf of the Native American program and its students would increase autonomy and self-determination. Secondly, there was put a greater emphasis upon the expression of Indian culture and identity as a part of Native American program design and development and as a part of the educational experience of Indian students. Indian leaders felt that a cultural focus was lacking within the EOP and the incipient Native American Counseling Program as it existed. Expanding the number of Indian studies courses on campus, greater articulations between the Native American program and variable

Indian communities, and approaching something akin to a cultural center as a part of Native American program design and development were indicators of this cultural emphasis.

To Indian leaders the structural and ideological constraints of the EOP and lack of commitment by the University would make achievement of this maximum program difficult. And at times there was even expressed doubt concerning the achievement of a minimum program that involved a full-time Indian counselor and/or recruiter. Indian leaders articulated in various ways their awareness that a maximum Native American program design and development within EOP called for substantial EOP changes. Thus the demand for a Native American directorship co-equal with other groups in EOP, greater freedom to contact University units, separate facilities in the form of an office-cultural center where an Indian counselor could meet with Indian students, and an Indian voice in resources allocated for Indians in EOP--these and other elements raised questions of structural change in EOP (less centralization within EOP and more distinct and autonomous programs along ethnic group lines), ethnic group conflict over resources, and more of an emphasis upon ethnic group culture as well as supportive services. A minimum Native American program design and development, however, was not seen as

threatening to the structure and ideology of the EOP, since it involved central EOP goals of including ethnic staff and recruiting more ethnic students, in this case Indians, all the while providing primarily academic support services.

Native American leaders did point to several factors that might help bring into being a changed climate on the University campus and thus promote a maximum type Native American program design and development. Achievement of a minimum program--a full-time Indian counselor and more Indian students--was a necessary first step. The assertion by this person of an Indian viewpoint with faculty and administrators would help, since the role-incumbent would come to be recognized as the representative of Indians on campus. Anticipated resources were also viewed as offering to Native Americans many opportunities to shape a program of their own choice. And, of central importance, contact with Indian communities and programs elsewhere in the state would add power and prestige to efforts to meet Indian education needs on the Oregon State University campus.

Although Native American leaders were not militant or radical in their visions of Native American program design and development, they were nonetheless in advance of most Indian students in certain areas of emphasis.

In others they appeared to be behind.

To Indian students the central problem that emerged was the growth and development of an Indian community on campus, one which offered a social and cultural milieu that would bring Indians together as opposed to being separated and disorganized, something which many Indian students said existed in 1972-1973.

The Indian students pointed to several indicators of the presence of a disorganized and disintegrated Native American community and ethnic group on campus. Such signs of this condition were held to be the small number of Indian students on campus, the weak Native American student Union, lack of unity and interaction among Indian students resident on campus, the underdevelopment of the Native American program within EOP, and the small number of courses offered by the University that dealt with Native American culture and history.

Native American students were aware of the relationship between the state of Indian community development on the Oregon State University campus and the question of Native American program design and development. Native American students wanted a full-time Indian counselor in the EOP, and they wanted the recruitment of more Indian students. They wanted more Indian studies courses, contacts with reservation communities, and greater interaction

and communication between Indian students in a setting which was their own.

When it came to Native American program design and development, Native American students wanted a representative in EOP, a source of identity, someone who was an advocate for Indian interests. They wanted a person who was working to build an Indian community on campus. For most Indian students the proposed solution strategy was to accelerate incipient Native American program trends. Full-time Indian staff could play the representation, identity, and advocacy roles. More students could be recruited. Indian staff could provide supportive services. An Indian counselor, or other staff, could work toward a stronger student union, promote more Indian studies courses, and initiate contacts with urban and reservation communities. Indian identity and group maintenance would be enhanced through this more effective program. The result would be a larger and stronger Indian social and cultural community on the Oregon State University campus.

Native American students, therefore, emphasized elements of the minimum and maximum program of Indian leaders. They did not, however, emphasize or articulate to the degree that Indian leaders did the administrative and political aspects of Native American program design and development. The mechanics of power, the allocation of

resources, Native American program autonomy, and structural changes within EOP were more frequently mentioned by Indian leaders rather than Indian students.

Indian leaders were more politicized than Indian students in terms of Native American program design and development for a number of reasons. Once Indian leaders were more clearly involved in the EOP structure through the incipient counseling program, they discovered their limited program autonomy and their limited resources. While Indian leaders experienced these events, few Indian students did. Secondly, given the fragmented nature of Indian organization on campus there was insufficient interaction and communication of these experiences to Indian students. Consequently, there was a more clearly articulated set of demands involving means and ends by Indian leaders than Indian students. And third, many Indian students at this phase of Native American program development continued to have positive feelings about the EOP parent organization and the University that shaped their views on Indian involvement in the EOP parent organization and the type of Native American program that should emerge within it.

Thus Indian students generally gave strong support to the EOP as adequately articulating them to the University and providing acculturational functions which helped in their adaptation and success within the University

environment. Several students recounted individual cases where the EOP or certain staff members thereof helped at critical times. Although there were a few persistent critics of the EOP in many areas, most Indian students rated EOP staff and services quite highly. Even the University as a whole was not blamed by most Indian students for the state of Native American program and community development on campus, although a few Indian students were critical of the administration. At the same time most Indian students gave strong support to the Indian counselor within EOP as doing an adequate job given the part-time nature of the position.

If there was any locus for blame when it came to the state of Indian community development and ethnic group maintenance, most Native American students tended to define it as a problem internal to Indians themselves. Factors cited to support this view were the presence of tribal differences among Indian students, the nature of Indian student leadership, an ineffective student union, and a generalized feeling that Indian students just did not seem able to come together.

While Indian students on the whole did not define their position as an ethnic group on campus inside and outside of the EOP structure as the fault of the EOP or other parts of the University, they were aware of the

relationship between ethnic group maintenance and Native American program design and development on the Oregon State University campus. In the interplay between group maintenance and program development, Indian students stated that a full-time Indian counselor and the recruitment of more Indian students would enhance the social and cultural community aspects of the Native American group on campus. A greater cultural focus and identity for Indians might come through a more developed Native American program within EOP, a stronger student union, more Indian studies courses, and greater reservation contacts. Thus Indian students said that Native American program development was instrumental towards a larger and more unified group for Indians at Oregon State University.

Indian students, however, were not generally conflict-oriented when it came to Indian involvement in the EOP structure. To some degree the start in Native American program development overcame past feelings that Indians as a group were merely tokens and lacked a legitimate share as an ethnic group within the EOP structure and the University. This did not mean Indian students were satisfied with the status quo. While they were on the whole dissatisfied with the part-time nature of the Indian counselor's role and the incipient nature of the counseling program, there was the expectation that this would be

corrected given the University's request for further developmental funds. For Indian students this was not a hope, but it was instead an expectation grounded in what they were demanding at the time. But a start had been made from the viewpoint of Indian students. Therefore, if the Indian group on campus were given a full-time Indian counselor/recruiter within the EOP structure, then other goals for Indians as a group could be achieved through Native American inclusion and participation in the EOP.

The start in Native American program development stimulated Indian leaders to go beyond a minimum program. The experiences of Indian leaders in EOP had moved them in the direction of thinking in terms of means and ends from within a framework of intergroup conflict. They became more conscious of the relative deprivation of their own group when compared to others in the EOP structure. For Indian leaders the demand for a more distinctive and autonomous Native American program and greater resource parity with other groups in the EOP represented the beginning of a transformation of the Indian group on campus and its relationship to the EOP and the University.

Indian leaders represented a vanguard force in re-examining the relationship between ethnic group maintenance and a Native American program as they increasingly thought within the framework of possible conflicts. This

conflict, however, was in the main contemplated as being within the system; the means and methods by which Native Americans might as a group maximize their position relative to others in EOP and in the University. Aware of their general position within the EOP and the University, Native American leaders were not rigid in their means and methods. But instead they contemplated a variety of means by which their goals might be achieved from within a framework of conflict given the ongoing system.

Native American students were not at the same level of consciousness regarding Indian program autonomy, the need for structural changes in the EOP, and the allocation of resources. Operating more within a consensus framework when it came to the EOP structure, Indian students were more willing to accept the extant EOP structure given the modifications made in the Indian role within it, particularly if the Indian counselor and/or recruiter were full-time. Then a viable instrumentality would exist to meet Indian goals. Indian students generally did not envision further phases of Native American program development wherein conflicts over resources and attendant structural changes for the EOP parent organization would occur given the demand for a certain type of Native American program design and development.

Indian leaders, on the other hand, did envision

further phases of development in the quest for a maximum Native American program design that would increase the potentialities for intergroup conflict and structural changes for Indians and the EOP. Indian leaders seemed more aware of the ongoing and potential changes in the properties of the Indian group on campus and how this entailed corresponding changes in the relationship between Indians as a group and the EOP and the University.

The differences between Indian leaders and Indian students were not qualitative but quantitative, a matter of degree. In the course of events it would be expected that more and more Indian students would take on the views of Indian leaders as greater articulation and integration marked later phases of Native American program and ethnic group maintenance development.

By 1972-1973, then, Indians were an ethnic group in process on the Oregon State University campus. Growth of leadership, a more expressed articulation of goals, and a greater awareness of the benefits and potentialities of Indian unity and identity marked this process. At the same time the growth and development of a Native American program in its incipient form was recognized by Indians as instrumental towards and interrelated to the process of ethnic group formation. Changes going on within Indians as a group presaged changes in the relationships

between Indians, EOP, and the University.

Attendant but limited shifts in the structural arrangements of the EOP in the spring of 1972 -- an emphasis within the University upon a broadened representational and identificational base within EOP for all groups, which was marked by an incipient program for Indians and the promise of further development--saw Indians as group beneficiaries. Increasingly as the 1972-1973 academic year proceeded, Indians would move in the direction of less disorganization and greater group assertion within the EOP structure and within the University. Ethnic group formation moved forward in tandem with the greater participation of Indians in the EOP and the University. At the same time, a consideration of goals, methods and means, and relationships by Indians as a group developed as they sought to work toward the design and development of a maximum type Native American program. Indians as a group moved in the direction of changing their structural position within EOP and the University, learning in the process the interrelationship between group resources, conflict, and strategy within a structure of intergroup relations. Thus the nature of the Indian group was changing as was its relationship to the EOP and the University.

### EOP Staff

EOP staff recognized the general problem for Indian students as one of adaptation to the environment of Oregon State University. To EOP staff, supportive services for Indians and other ethnic students would help them to succeed in this environment. Ethnic identity was a means toward supporting the adaptation process. Therefore, the need for an Indian staff member in EOP. Although the presence of an Indian counselor would to some degree promote Indian culture and identity through a Native American Counseling Program in EOP, this was not the manifest function of either. The EOP parent organization and the Native American off-spring were primarily directed toward supportive services. Promotion of Indian culture and identity was important, but this was more clearly a manifest function of the Native American Student Union and might be achieved through Indian studies courses in the regular curriculum. EOP staff strongly supported these ends.

For most EOP staff the central problem was obtaining more resources for the EOP parent organization and the ethnic populations it served. Anything which threatened this was opposed by EOP staff. Thus informants in the EOP stated that they were opposed to more ethnically separate programs within EOP. The expressed concern was that

this would undermine the EOP structure through greater ethnic group competition for limited resources, more energy devoted to ethnic group maintenance and ethnic program development rather than to education, and greater ethnic group closure.

The underlying EOP strategy was a "united minorities" one, wherein the EOP included all ethnic groups, had staff from different ethnic backgrounds, and served as an advocate for all minorities in relationship to the University. Informants noted that the development of more separate or autonomous programs threatened this strategy and structure, the unity and resource base of the EOP as a whole.

Most EOP staff favored more resources within EOP for Indians, through the hiring of Indian staff and the recruiting of more Indian students. This would strengthen EOP and its overall mission as a structure accomodating the needs and interests of different ethnic groups. Thus the needs of Indian students in terms of staff and student numbers, it was noted, complemented EOP staff goals. So did the promotion of Indian culture and identity through a stronger Native American Student Union and more Indian studies courses; and to the degree that the presence of more Indian staff and students in the EOP structure contributed towards cultural and identificational goals, these were additional benefits stemming from the parent

organization.

EOP staff recognized the need to incorporate Native Americans within the EOP in order to increase their participation, representation, and identity. Informants configured a number of solution strategies as means of meeting Native American needs within the EOP structure. Among these were an emphasis upon full-time Indian staff within EOP, more Indian students, additional courses in the regular curriculum for Indians through EOP efforts, working with and strengthening the Native American Student Union, and an advisory board of ethnic students, faculty, administrators, and EOP staff.

Constraints in meeting such an agenda were seen as the lack of adequate resources, the quality of EOP leadership, administration support, faculty attitudes, lack of sufficient numbers of Indian students on campus as well as disunity among those already on the campus, a weak Native American Student Union, the characteristics of Indian students (cultural differences--such as lack of group assertiveness--and lack of educational preparation), and the attitudes of the Indian community which was not yet fully supportive toward higher education for Native Americans.

As for a more distinct and autonomous Native American program design and development within the EOP, this was a

solution strategy that was rejected by most EOP staff. Constraints for such development were said to be the scarcity of resources to support such independent development; that it would lead to further ethnic conflicts within EOP over limited resources; less emphasis upon education and greater emphasis upon ethnic group maintenance, something that would thereby weaken EOP unity and its resource base; the administration's attitude, which was opposed to more separate programs and wanted one structure serving the needs of ethnic students; and the attitudes of faculty, which were similar to those of the administration in that there was opposition to separate programs for different ethnic groups in the University.

For most EOP staff, then, a more independent Native American program within the EOP was said to be threatening to the structure, resource base, unity, and overall mission and strategy of EOP. Informants indicated that the position of the EOP was sufficiently delicate that such a direction in ethnic programming, more separate programs, would disintegrate hard-won institutional growth and progress by the EOP within the University system. One staff member summarized the general conception of the EOP, when discussing staffing, by emphatically stating: "We believe in an integrated program and hire staff who believe in it!" This person went on to add, as other

informants stated, that the EOP operated to meet the individual and group needs of diverse students, all within one structure. Cross-cultural counseling, staffing from a variety of ethnic groups, and a general concern for all students as well as particular ones in service areas were cited to convey this conception of the EOP structure. Thus an Indian counselor, it was said, did not just operate for the benefit of Native American students but was also to operate for all students in the EOP.

EOP staff informants did indicate that, if starting over when it came to EOP structuring, there should have been included from the start staff representative from each of the ethnic groups in EOP. In the case of Native Americans, informants stated, this would have meant a full-time Indian staff member, along with other supportive mechanisms for Native American students. EOP staff, therefore, directly and indirectly acknowledged that Indians had been without an adequate source of representation and identification within the EOP over the years. Their hope was that this would be corrected with a full-time Indian counselor and/or recruiter, although the uncertainty of resources and administrative commitment were variables that made fulfillment of this belated goal open to some question.

The conception of an EOP structure that was integrated

and universal in its inclusion and provision of services to different ethnic groups was strongly supported by key EOP staff members. One, however, did want more separate ethnic programs and expressed dissatisfaction with the EOP's structuring for ethnic differences. This person stated that such autonomous programs along ethnic lines were not likely. Because his ethnic group had sufficient power within existing structural arrangements, he tended to support the ongoing system. Therefore, Native American program design and development would and should take place within the ongoing structure and ideology of the EOP and the University relative to the EOP.

Thus for most EOP staff the recommended solution strategy for Native American program design and development was a full-time Indian counselor/recruiter and hence more students. This would be a Native American counseling and recruiting vehicle within the EOP, and there should be adequate resources available to support it. The Native American program design would be an Indian counselor/recruiter with integrated roles. The Native American component would be tightly integrated into the EOP and have minimal structural separation and differentiation. Native American staff would serve as a source of identity and support for Indians and other ethnic students (through cross-cultural counseling and in other service areas).

The manifest purpose of the EOP parent organization or a Native American program component was to provide services and identity to Indian students to help them adapt to the college environment. Thus acculturational functions were central to the EOP mission, and it was the major structure for carrying them out. Enculturational functions could be met to some degree through EOP--Indian student identification with Native American staff, unity and identity through recruiting more Indian students, Indian staff working with the student union, contact with all types of Indian communities, and pushing for Indian studies (which was seen as academic and different from the EOP's support service functions). However, specific structuring for Indian culture and identity was secondary to the acculturational functions of providing adaptive services for Indians and other ethnic students.

Although EOP staff informants stated that they wanted a full-time Indian staff member who would counsel and recruit Native American students, they did not envision such a person in the role of a co-director, someone who was in title and fact an autonomous Indian program director. It was stated that EOP staffing was in terms of finding persons who had professional experiences with the disadvantaged and/or minorities as well as being a person from a certain ethnic background. EOP staff

wanted an Indian counselor who was a Native American. But this person would have a universalistic role as well as a particularistic one, it was said, the same as for other EOP staff. Structural positions within EOP, it was noted, were not assigned on the basis of ethnicity. To do so would open up the development of separate programs and groupings within an integrated and universalistic structure. Thus any consideration of an Indian as a co-director was rejected, since it would open up, according to this view, the EOP structure to the factionalism and competition that was held to be associated with separate programs. EOP staff stated that a Native American role, full-time, would assure Indian identity and representation within EOP, and that such a role-incident would be able to assert an Indian group viewpoint and participate in the EOP structure as did other ethnic groupings.

#### Administrators

Oregon State University administrators stated the central problem and major goal of programming for ethnic and disadvantaged students was adaptation to and graduation from the institution. In line with this, administrators expressed concern about providing for Native American identity and representation in the EOP structure, something which was viewed as instrumental towards the major goal

of graduation from the University.

For administrators the central structure for promoting ethnic student adaptation to the University environment was the EOP. Therefore, considerations of Native American program design and development could not be divorced from conceptions of EOP design and development.

Administrators stated that the EOP was an integrated structure that was to meet the needs of all minority and disadvantaged students. Its functions were primarily acculturational: the provision of services that would support ethnic student adaptation. Enculturational functions were viewed as providing identity for ethnic students and important to the extent that acculturation was promoted on the campus. Cultural purposes and conceptions were seen as primarily coming through the ethnic student unions or Indian-related courses in the regular curriculum. Manifest structuring for Indian culture and identity was not seen as a part of EOP or a Native American Counseling program. These were latent functions, not intended effects. Administrators generally stated that the University had a limited ability to influence Indian culture and identity.

A distinct Indian studies program, or an Indian studies program as a part of Native American program design and development within EOP, was rejected by

administrators, although they were willing to see courses on Indians in some type of ethnic studies program. Generally, strong support for ethnic studies was not evinced, with administrators preferring the voluntary system of ethnic course offerings by departments that operated at the time.

When it came to a more autonomous Native American program design and development within the EOP, this was opposed by administrators. Although administrators said that greater identity and awareness of the needs and problems of Indians would be among the benefits of a more autonomous Indian program, they pointed to and emphasized the attendant problems. As one high level administrator said, greater autonomy would result in "inefficiency with compartmentalization, ineffectiveness in helping students, and a waste of resources." Thus there would be too much "polarization or pulling in of ethnic students" and "too much clanishness" as other administrators put it. Administrators said that obtaining resources to support such separate programs would be difficult. They stated that such a trend in ethnic programming would dilute the strength of all minorities on campus as well as create disunity within the EOP. At the same time administrators indicated concerns that ethnic separateness might create power bases which could raise questions of accountability

and control within the University. As one administrator at the highest levels summarized the administrative viewpoint: "I don't want three water-tight compartments in EOP. We must have a sharing of experiences among them. We cannot have sharp divisions."

Administrators stated that the EOP was adapting and changing to recognize ethnic differences within one structure. It was said that the EOP had not ignored the identity needs of Indian students. Adaptation and changes were seen in the recognition given to the need for an Indian counselor and/or recruiter in EOP as well as bringing more Indian students to Oregon State University. Since ethnic identity was instrumental towards ethnic student adaptation, it was said, the EOP hired staff from different ethnic backgrounds. Some administrators also emphasized that this policy helped to avoid the emergence of a "super dean" within EOP who would slant the program toward one group.

Although one administrator did suggest that separateness could be structurally defined by giving Native Americans a co-directorship, most administrators did not envision this as a feasible structural alternative. Some administrators did point out that one structural change was where each ethnic group would have its own counselor and counseling program but coordinated by an administrator.

This program autonomy, however, could not be at the expense of "reading" or other services designed to support academic success of students. In the case of counseling programs for different ethnic groups, this was already under way in EOP. It represented the structural adaptation that administrators pointed to when they stated the EOP was meeting the identity needs of ethnic students. The incipient Native American Counseling Program was indicative of this structural change within EOP. However, administrators still expected an Indian counselor to work with other students. The general view of the administration was well-summarized by an administrator at the highest levels:

We are accepting the view there is some need for ethnic identity and at the same time trying to maintain one program instead of three separate ones. We must have an integrated program without water-tight compartments. Otherwise we will have a Native American counselor sitting and waiting for clients and not serving students.

Therefore, administrators generally saw Native American program design and development as a counseling and recruiting vehicle within EOP for Native Americans. This was seen to be compatible with and not conflictive with the University's institutional goals. A Native American staff person would be in many roles. Structurally, there would not be an autonomous program. EOP was one program and structure, with one director. Within that certain

sub-programs, such as the Native American Counseling Program, were possible. But the Native American counselor would also operate to help other students as well, although it was recognized that substantial attention would be given to the needs of Indian students. Any Native American structure within EOP had the same functions as all of EOP: provision of services and identity for ethnic students. More distinct enculturational functions could be met by other structures outside of EOP and its Native American program section. Ethnic staff, such as the Indian counselor, could work with their respective student unions and advocate courses representative of their history and culture. None of this was opposed by administrators. For administrators the heavy emphasis, however, was upon acculturation to the University and graduation from it. Enculturational functions on campus and external relationships with Indian cultural systems were secondary. EOP and Native American program efforts were to be functionally oriented toward acculturation to the University and enculturational to the degree that identity was recognized as contributing to Indian student adaptation to the University environment.

Administrators gave strong support to the incumbent Indian counselor; they stated that the next immediate future development of the Native American program would

take the form of a full-time Indian counseling position if state funds were forthcoming. Giving Native Americans a share and identity source in EOP was seen as part of a "developmental plan" which first emphasized Blacks and Chicanos and then Indians. Some administrators felt that once the Indian counselor's role was full-time, then further development could be taken "step-wise."

All administrators, however, agreed that further Native American program development was dependent upon resources, which either came from the state or were "taken away from someone else in the University." Despite this, administrators saw a broad base of support from different elements within the University for Native American program development in EOP. The actions of the Indian Education Seminar in the spring of 1972, the resolution of the student senate, and the involvement of the Associated Students of Oregon State University were pointed to by administrators. They also said that faculty could be more involved than they were at the time. Accordingly, administrators urged an awareness of the program through communication to different audiences as a means of building further support among faculty, alumni, students, and administrators. But one high level administrator said there were limits to program development regardless of mobilized support among different audiences and improved communication and

awareness, saying the "principal barrier is still resources."

Administrators were thus strongly supportive of a Native American program design and development that was a counseling-recruiting venture. This would, however, be within certain conceptions of the EOP. The EOP was essentially an integrated and universalistic structure meeting the needs of all students. To the degree that ethnic identity was important in ethnic student adaptation, these should be accounted for by the presence of professionals who were from different ethnic backgrounds. More distinct expressions of ethnic differences and identities in the form of more separate programs were rejected given the many problems associated with this type of programming. Keeping the EOP as one structure, while meeting ethnic identity needs, administrators said would avoid these type problems.

### Faculty

Faculty members were concerned with the problem of Indian student adaptation to the college environment of Oregon State University. Most faculty stated there was a greater need for Indian identity and representation within the EOP. This would help the adaptation of Indian students, which was going badly from the viewpoint of faculty.

A number of solution strategies were configured by faculty as means of meeting Native American students' educational needs. A Native American studies program, an Indian counseling-recruiting vehicle within the EOP, ethnic studies with an Indian studies component, a more separate Native American program within EOP, an EOP structure with a strong and polycultural administrator but ethnic programs with their own directors, and an advisory board composed of ethnic student representatives, EOP staff, faculty, and administrators (along with three ethnic co-directors) were suggested structural alternatives for Indian program development.

Constraints for any of these solution strategies were said to be primarily limited resources and lack of administrative commitment, with problems of ethnic unity and conflict in particular arising from any structural arrangements which moved toward more distinct and autonomous ethnic programming in the University than existed.

Generally, most faculty saw the incorporation and articulation of Indians in the University as on the same basis as other ethnic groups; having Indian staff, more Indian students, and the provision of supportive services in order to help them graduate from the University. The EOP was recognized by faculty as being the universalistic structure which incorporated and articulated Indians as

well as other ethnic students.

Faculty as a whole did not generally indicate strong support for more separate programs, nor did most suggest structural alternatives which moved in that direction. Some faculty members, however, were persistent critics of the University and the EOP's structuring for ethnic differences. These faculty members wondered if there really were any future plans for Indian program development beyond an Indian counseling program or for other ethnic groups. They expressed the need for more action. Expressive of this viewpoint was one faculty member who said, when discussing further Native American program development, the following: "I don't think there are any plans for each ethnic group's role. The EOP director should be planning." Another faculty member cited an example of how there had been an effort to expand the role of ethnic students in EOP, but that nothing had come of the effort. This was put as follows:

I was part of an advisory committee to EOP. We had agreed that an executive committee would run it. From each ethnic group there would be a student representative. This policy-making body was to represent ethnic input. The EOP was to be more responsive to the ethnic communities on and off-campus. The EOP was to be more than a service organization. It was to be a change program or a developmental body, not just service. EOP was to be more aggressive. Inclusion of the administration was to do this. This committee met in early 1972 and the summer. But it has not met since then so far as I know.

While there were critics of EOP leadership and the University when it came to change and expanding the role of different ethnic groups, most faculty members said that when the EOP was providing ethnic identity and representation in the form of more Indian staff and more Indian students this was sufficient. More separate programs along ethnic group lines were opposed.

Therefore, the generally recommended Native American program design and line of development was to be a counseling and recruiting venture within the EOP. This was said by all faculty to be compatible with institutional goals, not conflictive. In such a program, acculturational functions were central, with a Native American component in EOP carrying out the service functions of and within the parent organization's structure. Enculturational functions could be met within EOP given identification with Indian staff, and their presence would promote greater Indian group unity.

Ideally, many faculty hoped that the promotion and appreciation of Indian culture and identity were being achieved through the program. But this was more a latent than manifest function, particularly when it came to Indian culture. Nonetheless, Indian culture and identity were important to faculty. They wanted more Indian-related courses in the regular curriculum, but these

would have to be through an interdepartmental effort. Faculty were generally suspicious of any Indian studies or ethnic studies program outside of existing departmental efforts or control. All faculty opposed the inclusion of Indian studies courses in a Native American program design associated within EOP, seeing one as academic and the other as supportive services.

Faculty seemed more aware than administrators of the ability of the University to affect the enculturational function within the University and outside of it when it came to Indians. Most faculty stated there was a greater need to expand the cultural focus of the University on campus and to promote a greater awareness of and articulation by the University with external Indian socio-cultural systems.

The emphasis of faculty, however, continued to be toward the idea that the acculturational functions of a Native American program or an EOP were central. Although enculturational functions, such as Indian-related courses, were important in cultural terms for Indians, the emphasis for faculty was whether these efforts were instrumental towards graduation from the University. Acculturational functions were manifest; enculturational functions were limited in number and intended effects, those which promoted Indian student adaptation.

Faculty, therefore, supported a full-time Indian counselor and/or recruiting program in EOP. This would give Indian students identity and representation as well as promote Indian student adaptation. More autonomous programming for Indians and others was opposed, with most faculty supporting EOP as the integrated structure serving all ethnic students. Given a full-time Indian counselor, this was evidence of EOP adaptation to ethnic differences in one structure. But there were some faculty members who said more could be done in terms of Native American program development, even to include giving an Indian a co-directorship in EOP, something not envisioned by most faculty. Faculty wanted a greater emphasis upon Indian culture and identity within the University and EOP, along with greater contacts with Indian communities. But for most faculty the recommended Native American program design and development within EOP was a full-time Indian counselor (or other Indian staff) and the greater recruitment of Indian students, with Indian staff carrying out the primary function of EOP, the provision of supportive services that promoted ethnic student adaptation to and graduation from the University.

### Summary

With the allocation of limited resources within the

EOP for an incipient Native American Counseling Program and the expectation of further development through requested resources by the University, Native Americans considered their status and program development in the EOP parent organization. Demands in the spring of 1972 by various groups and bodies for an expanded Indian role in EOP coincided with the discussion and promotion of a greater developmental focus in the EOP itself. Criticism of EOP leadership, the participation and role of different ethnic groups, funding, and service capacities existed among faculty, EOP staff, and administrators when they considered the discrepancy between what was and what could be. Expanding the role of Native Americans in EOP benefitted from these criticisms and the demands brought forward in favor of a greater EOP interest in Indian students. From their incipient program base, Native Americans more directly became involved in the EOP structure, an experience which shaped the attitudes of Native American leaders and students.

For Indian leaders it led to the formulation of a maximum Indian program design and development premised upon greater self-determination for Native Americans in EOP and a greater cultural focus than existed in the incipient program. This maximum program entailed less administrative centralization in EOP relative to Indians,

greater program autonomy, more control over resources by Indians going for their benefit in EOP, and promoted the development of a conflict orientation among Indian leaders. While oriented toward working within the ongoing system, Native American leaders sought to change their group position, one where they saw the structural and resource realities of the EOP parent organization as placing them in a tertiary and subordinate role relative to other ethnic groups. A minimum Native American program design, consisting of a full-time Indian counselor and/or recruiter, was but a first step in a broader conception for Indian leaders.

For Indian students there were still positive feelings toward the EOP parent organization, less of a conflict orientation, and the expectation that the presence of a full-time Native American counselor would result in a greater Indian socio-cultural community on campus, the central concern of Indian students.

Although there were some criticisms of the EOP parent organization among faculty, EOP staff, and administrators, these did not extend to questioning the fundamental structure and ideology of that organization. All of the informants in these categories stated that Indians had been unrepresented and lacked identity within EOP given their small numbers and lack of a full-time Indian staff member;

consequently, there was the need for such a full-time staff role and the greater recruitment of Native American students. This was the expected and suggested next phase of Native American program design and development. This design and development did not include Indian studies in EOP or as a separate program; Indian studies was seen as a part of an interdepartmental ethnic studies program. Future plans for Native American program development which went along the lines of a counseling venture and recruiting vehicle in EOP was the recommended solution strategy and was seen as most compatible with institutional goals by EOP staff, faculty, and administrators. Thus the minimum program of Indian leaders, and the primary demand of Indian students when it came to programming, received strong support within the University.

EOP staff, administrators, and faculty were highly conscious of the conflict possibilities inherent in more autonomous ethnic programming within the EOP structure. They tended to emphasize that the EOP parent organization was basically adaptive, and a consensus framework was not only desirable but also possible in the EOP for different ethnic groups. These informants stated that a complementarity existed between what Indians as a group wanted and institutional goals, particularly in terms of more Indian staff and students in EOP. Conflict could

and should be avoided within the EOP structure, according to these informants. This would be accomplished by giving Native Americans a share in the ongoing system on the same basis as other groups--through identity and representation. From this accommodation, Indians would like other groups receive supportive services, ethnic identity, and eventual graduation from the University (the primary goal of the EOP structure). For these three informant categories there was a recognition that program autonomy would bring certain Indian group benefits; but the concern was that while ethnic group promotion and maintenance might increase (and consequently ethnic group conflict), this would be at the expense of the educational process and a consequent diminution of educational benefits for ethnic minority students. Therefore, these three informant categories strongly supported an acculturational focus through the EOP structure. EOP was a universalistic structure that incorporated and articulated all ethnic groups; it was one integrated program. More separate programming along ethnic lines threatened this. Certain sub-programs might be possible, but these would not be characterized by distinct ethnic group leaders, ethnic group resources, and a decentralized administrative structure where the power existed in highly autonomous ethnic programs. From this would come interethnic conflict over

resources, questions of accountability and control by the University, and the promotion of ethnic group interests rather than education. The inclusion of Indians in the EOP structure on a basis equal to other ethnic students would minimize conflict, promote Indian student adaptation, and assure that the central goal of education was pursued.

For Indian leaders the EOP structure was more than a service organization promoting adaptation to the college environment; it was an arena of ethnic group interest articulation and assertion within the context of the University. Education within the college environment was more than supportive services and courses; it was also the development and maintenance of an ethnic group and community. Native American program design and development was educational in the context of the University's definition, but it was also educational within the terms of Indian group self-determination and Indian group maintenance. Thus for Indian leaders there was a complementarity of viewpoints with other informant categories, but there was a conflict when it came to Indian leaders' recognition of the realities of the structure of inter-group relations which in fact obtained in the EOP structure, something which other informant categories sought to de-emphasize or defuse through their conceptions of what structural arrangements should exist in the EOP for

various ethnic groups.

## CHAPTER IX

FUNCTIONAL AND CULTURAL INTERPRETATION:  
THE NATIVE AMERICAN PROGRAM AT OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

As a parallel to the case of the NAP at the University of Oregon, the Native American Program at Oregon State University here is examined in terms of its adaptive functions and its implications for cultural pluralism. Adaptive functions are considered in terms of acculturational and enculturational dimensions. The program's various thrusts--service, financial aid, selection and recruitment, and staff selection and roles -- are addressed in terms of their consequences for Native American adaptation and group maintenance in the university environment.

Adaptive Functions of the Native American Program  
at Oregon State University

Informants were asked a series of questions to determine whether acculturational and enculturational functions were manifest or latent in the ideology and structures of the University relative to Indian students.

Manifest functions are those which are perceived by participants within a socio-cultural system as intended effects; latent functions are those which are non-intended effects and are not recognized by participants (Merton 1957:-

51).

Acculturational functions are a set of integrative relationships, the consequences of which allow Native Americans to learn and gain competence in the non-Indian culture. Enculturational functions are a set of disintegrative relationships, the consequences of which maintain Indian identity, values, and interaction and therefore build competence in Indian culture. As a consequence of the interplay of these functions, a culturally plural situation exists for Native Americans as a group and a bicultural one for Indians as individuals. As thus defined, functions may be manifest or latent.

The thrust of inquiry, however, was to determine how manifest the acculturational and enculturational functions were at Oregon State University and whether informants saw the institution as structuring for and having an impact on these relationships. Following Derr (1973:55), we may say that manifest functions are purposes. Hence, informants were queried about their perceptions of a University mission oriented toward Indian cultural purposes: intended effects by the institution relative to both the Indian and non-Indian cultures and the degrees and areas where there were structural and ideological expressions of such a University mission.

Cultural purposes as manifest acculturational and

enculturational functions means that an educational system intends certain outcomes and is aware of the consequences given these relationships. There is, then, with cultural purposes a mission with corresponding implications for performance requirements, sub-functions derived from the higher order acculturational and enculturational functions, and the selection of methods and means (strategies and vehicles) for carrying out the mission in the form of program design and its implementation.

The Native American program at Oregon State University is examined below as a University strategy and vehicle for carrying out acculturational and enculturational functions relative to Native Americans.

#### Acculturational Functions

Acculturational functions of the Native American program at Oregon State University were more limited than those of the NAP at Oregon. This was because most of the acculturational functions took place within the EOP parent organization, and the functions of the Native American Counseling Program derived from those more general functions.

The Native American program offspring will be considered first in terms of its administrative aspects. Second, it will be examined in terms of its limited service

functions within the general service functions of the EOP parent organization. It, therefore, becomes possible to discuss the specialized functions of the Native American program as they are derived from and related to the more general functions of the EOP parent organization. Moving between the Native American program structure and its functions and juxtapositioning this with the general structure and functions of the parent organization places the Native American program in its proper context within the larger organization. At the same time, this provides a base from which to discuss informant perceptions about the Native American role in EOP and its implications for cultural pluralism on and off campus when it comes to acculturational as well as enculturational functions.

Administrative Component of the Native American Program. The institution of a part-time Indian staff role in the EOP parent organization provided a leadership base within the EOP structure that had been previously lacking and which was of fundamental concern to all categories of informants at Oregon State University. Nonetheless, this staff role was derived from the more general staffing procedures of the EOP. The Native American counselor in EOP was not directly chosen by the Indian students. This was an administrative decision made within the EOP through the normal procedure of a committee composed of EOP staff and

student representatives of the various ethnic groups. The Indian community on campus did not, therefore, nominate or validate the EOP's selection of the Indian counselor. This person, however, was known to and familiar with the problems of Indian students given participation in the Indian Education Seminar in the spring of 1972.

To examine further the selection and role of Native American staff within EOP, staff members of EOP, administrators, and faculty were asked about their awareness of Indian staff presently within the EOP, the special abilities or specific qualifications to be looked for in such persons who would be in staff positions in a Native American program as found at Oregon State University (an area where Indian students were also queried) and the possibilities for additional Indian staff members and in what kinds of positions.

All EOP staff were aware of the fact that there was a part-time Indian counselor in the EOP, another part-time position for recruiting Indian students, and that some Indian students on work study money were involved in the recruiting process. Only two of the four administrators knew of the presence of an Indian staff member in EOP. Four of the faculty members interviewed were not aware of the Indian counselor. The other five faculty members were aware of the Indian counselor's role in EOP and to some

degree aware of its part-time nature, along with the fact that some effort toward recruiting more Indian students was taking place by Indians in EOP.

When asked if there were any special abilities or specific qualifications in hiring staff members for a Native American program such as found at Oregon State (Staff from certain backgrounds and orientations? Staff who are committed to social change? Staff who are committed to learning?), all EOP staff indicated a person from certain backgrounds and orientations. This for most meant a person who was an Indian or one so identified by Indians themselves. One EOP staff member, however, emphasized "background and experience in working with Indians" as the main characteristic. Others put the emphasis upon ethnic background. Thus, one said: "Having an Indian identification or thinking Indian." A second said: "Some say that only a reservation Indian is acceptable. However, Indians may be urban or reservation. The major qualification is that they are Indian in the eyes of the Indian students. Also, from our viewpoint, the person must be able to work with the staff." A third staff member said persons who became staff members in a Native American program would have to be someone who identified as an Indian and "feels comfortable in that knowledge." This person went on to say that "you can get an Indian on 'paper,' but this individual may not feel

comfortable." This staff member added that it all too often appeared that EOP just wanted a "token" in order to say they had an Indian staff member. Therefore, the Indian staff member would have to be authentic in his or her own eyes as well as those of the Indian students. And of the utmost importance, it was said, was the fact that the Indian staff member interpret the role so that it was more than a token status, and that it became one that represented and furthered the interests of Indian students in EOP. This latter emphasis upon self-assurance in one's Indian identity and the ability to strongly represent the Indian viewpoint was seen as an important personality characteristic in a staff member, when asked about the importance of personality in staff selection. Other EOP staff saw such personality qualities as "getting along with all groups," thus, putting the emphasis upon the quality of cooperation with diverse staff and students, to "openness." EOP staff generally saw a key qualification for Indian staffing a person from a certain background and orientation: one who was Indian and could "think Indian." Personality traits from the ability to assert an Indian viewpoint to one who could get along with others or was "open" were also deemed important qualities to look for in Indian staff.

Administrators were asked what abilities or qualifications would be looked for in hiring staff for a Native

American program as found at Oregon State. Two administrators emphasized first staff from certain backgrounds and orientations. One saw this as a person who could "identify with the group." A second said it meant a qualified person who was a Native American. This was put as follows: "If the purpose of EOP is to get people into the mainstream, I will go for a person with credentials and who is a Native American. This person must have status and respect so that he will get people to listen. That is, abilities or qualifications will vary from whether you want a counselor-recruiter or whether you want someone who is to deal primarily with administrators." A third person saw commitment to learning as a quality to look for in staff, with certain backgrounds and orientations being second. A fourth administrator said that all three qualities were important, although other comments recognized the importance of the staff member being an Indian. When asked if personality were an important factor in Indian staff selection, all administrators said it was. One administrator saw personality qualities such as being "reasonable" and "comfortable in both cultures," thereby "being a bridge" between the cultures. This was seen as a complex of personality traits. Another saw "concern, true interest in a person as a person, not just people as a tool of change" as being central, along with the "ability to understand and

relate." A third emphasized the ability to "get along and work with people" and "personal stability." A fourth administrator emphasized the quality of being "adaptive to different audiences -- student or University administrators." Most administrators, then, recognized the importance of ethnic background or experience in working with Native Americans in a program like EOP, being able to work within different settings and with different individuals, while being concerned with individuals.

Faculty interviewed varied considerably in the abilities or qualifications for a Native American program staff role in EOP. Six faculty members stated that staff from certain backgrounds and orientations was an important quality to look for first. This was interpreted differently in a number of cases. Two of these six faculty explicitly stated the staff role should be filled by "a real Indian, one with reservation experience," or as the other said "I would look for a traditionalist Indian from the reservation." A third person, however, referred to a person who had worked with Indians and hence "I don't think he has to be an Indian." Two others emphasized that while the person be a Native American, that person would have to be able to counsel and recruit or be committed to getting students through the University. Another said of staff abilities and qualifications: "He should be a Native

American who can command the respect of students and the administration." Of the three faculty not mentioning certain backgrounds and orientations first, there were two who emphasized commitment to learning first and a third who stressed commitment to social change first. Faculty, therefore, in the majority of cases recognized the need for a person from an Indian background, but at the same time many emphasized that the person be well-qualified in the counseling-recruiting role or be dedicated to learning.

When asked if personality was an important factor in a staff role relative to Native Americans, all faculty interviewed agreed that it was. Here, again, faculty varied in what qualities were important. Three faculty members saw the role-incumbent as being a skillful and aggressive person who knew how to present and stick to a viewpoint and who knew the University system and how it operated. Expressive of this viewpoint was one faculty member who saw the Indian staff member as "aggressive," being "articulate," possessing "expertise," knowing "the academic culture," and being able to "communicate" with others. Another saw the Indian staff member as skilled in interacting effectively with the administration rather than passively. Another said the person "must be tough and stick to it" as well as "know the institution and win support for the program." This activist conception of the role with its presumed

ability to operate in the University system was contrasted by three other faculty. They saw the personality in the role as an "outgoing person" who was "flexible" as one put it; or "a person who can listen, is open, receptive, not a dominating personality" and "a person who is not dogmatic but one who is responsible, balanced, or who can play it loose" as two others put it. Two other faculty members emphasized personal qualities relative to the students: "A person who relates well to Indian students and understands Indian culture" and "A person who can be trusted by the Indian students." A ninth faculty member had no opinion, although agreeing personality was an important factor.

The Indian students were asked what kind of staff would function most effectively in a Native American program as found at Oregon State (Staff from certain backgrounds or orientations? Staff committed to social change? To learning?). Most of the Indian students emphasized staff from certain backgrounds and orientations as first, while recognizing that the other qualities were important. Native American students expected that staff members would be Indian.

Indian students also said personality was a major factor in Indian staff members who would function effectively in a Native American program at Oregon State University. The most commonly mentioned characteristics were that such

an individual be one who "cared" and could "cooperate" or get along with others.

EOP staff, administrators, and faculty were asked about the possibilities for more Indian staff and in what kinds of positions. EOP staff foresaw only a full-time Indian counselor in EOP and then only if administration requests from the state legislature came through. Two administrators saw possibilities only in terms of a full-time Indian counselor and additional funds for the recruiting of Native Americans, all of this being dependent upon action by the state legislature. A third administrator saw possibilities for more Indian staff as dependent upon more students; then resources would go for more staff. Four faculty members did not know. Four felt the possibilities were poor for getting more Indians in EOP or on the faculty. One of these in the latter group spoke at length. He saw more Native American staff dependent on state funding, and he saw limited efforts by the University to recruit Indian faculty given their lack of experience with Indians. Above all, he continued, staffing changes in EOP for Native Americans would be limited because it might upset the "present ethnic balance" in EOP. The EOP was seen as being in a "tenuous balance" and even though there was an attempt to "suppress ethnic rivalry by ignorance or indifference" it was still there. Thus, he did not foresee any real

increase in Indian staff within EOP. A ninth faculty member saw the possibility for Indian faculty if qualified. Overall, all categories of informants saw limited possibilities for more Native American staff in EOP. At best, informants foresaw a full-time Indian counselor, that being dependent upon further resources.

The Indian counselor was expected, by the parent organization, to be a general representative for Native Americans within the EOP, but this role was limited by its derivation from the EOP structure. The Indian counselor was expected to be an interpreter of Indian students within EOP to other units of the University. At the same time, the Native American staff member was to be an advocate for Indians within the EOP and the University. Advocacy, though, did not mean that a Native American staff member disregarded the parent organization's central role as a multi-ethnic advocacy agency for all ethnic students on campus. Native American advocacy was through the EOP structure and not independent of it. This was the role-expectation of all ethnic staff within the parent organization. Advocacy might extend to promoting more Indian studies courses in the regular curriculum, contacting and presenting Indian viewpoints to administrators, units of the University, or the public at large. These contacts with external systems outside of the EOP were largely to be

structured through the parent organization. The Native American staff member was not expected to control these relationships for the Indian group within the EOP; control over external relationships was a part of the central organization more than ethnic staff working for their own specific program. EOP staff generally indicated support for the idea that the Native American counselor promote Native American program development within EOP, but this was within the acceptable structural and ideological boundaries of the parent organization. Working with the Native American Student Union was also seen as a part of the Indian staff member's role.

The Native American program was limited not only structurally but also in terms of resources. There was not an independent resource base for the program specifically allocated and controlled by an Indian staff member. Resource allocation and control rested with the parent organization. Resources in 1972-1973 provided for the part-time Indian counselor and later in the academic year release of funds for a part-time recruiter. Indian students on work study monies also gave some assistance to the recruiting efforts of the Indian counselor. In the main, there was limited funding for Native American program activities. Therefore, the scope of the program's functions and its degree of autonomy rested largely with the parent

organization. The University's request for further developmental funds for the Native American program did offer a number of visions for program development for Native Americans, especially among Indian leaders. Even so, a few Indians recognized that a greater resource base for Native Americans in EOP was not likely to alter the EOP parent organization's control over and allocation of funds.

The Native American counselor had no specific autonomy when it came to evaluating the program, since the counselor's role-performance was judged by other EOP staff. The Indian counselor or other Indian staff were expected to evaluate their activities and suggest means by which improvements might be made in programming. Thus, a critical issue for EOP was recruiting Indian students. An Indian staff member would be expected to evaluate the counseling-recruiting program in light of the number of students recruited and retained, but this was not the kind of highly autonomous program self-evaluation which characterized the NAP at Oregon.

In 1972-1973, then, the Native American counselor in EOP was filling numerous roles -- identity source for Indian students, representative and advocate, recruiter, promoter of Indian studies courses, contacting University units and the public to name but a few. This role-interpretation was within the EOP structure. It was not

role-interpretation within an Indian-controlled and Indian-oriented program structure that was operational within a highly decentralized system. Within the centralized structure of the EOP parent organization, Native American staff were constrained in the administrative aspects of acculturational functions as they were in the scope of program functionality in service areas.

Service Components of the Native American Program. The service elements of the Native American Counseling Program partook of the more general service functions of the EOP. EOP staff members emphasized that those functions were essentially acculturational in that they helped ethnic students to enter and stay in the institution by giving them some advantages at the beginning but gradually placing more responsibility on the student. The general orientation of EOP staff was that as a supportive services organization its major functions were to assist in the student intake and student maintenance processes of the institution. Less emphasis was to be given to the end-product of the system. EOP and its components were thus oriented towards primarily acculturational functions.

A Native American Counseling Program had diffuse and particularistic service functions in the EOP parent organization. Indian staff were expected to promote the general functions of the parent organization in many service areas.

Specifically, though, an Indian staff member was expected to help recruit and retain Indian students, even while working in other service areas with other ethnic students.

In the following, there will be a discussion of the relationship of Native Americans to the general functions of EOP in the areas of recruiting and selecting students, entrance and orientation, tutoring, counseling and academic advising, curriculum development, and financial aids. At the same time attention will be focused on the particularistic functions of the Native American program relative to the general acculturational functions of the EOP and within which Native American program functions were embedded.

Selection and Recruitment of Indian Students. One perspective on service functions of the Native American Counseling Program can be seen in the area of selecting and recruiting Indian students, something which was central to its further development.

This important service function of the Native American program was also central to the EOP, since the Native American program effort within EOP was essentially a recruiting and counseling vehicle for the parent organization. Thus, the Indian counselor was expected to increase the EOP's capacities for recruiting Indian students, something which was going badly from the EOP staff's perspective.

Perceptions of EOP staff, administrators, and faculty

on the past and present recruiting of Indians in EOP were sought. They were asked about their knowledge of target areas, recruiting procedures, and recruiting problems as they related to Indian students and Native American program design and development in EOP.

Indian recruitment target areas are primarily in Oregon. Community colleges and high schools in Bend, Ontario, and Pendleton are contacted, Klamath Falls and Chemawa near Salem. Lummi Indians from the state of Washington were admitted into EOP in a special category. The Indian counselor was concentrating on these and other areas as well in 1972-1973.

Administrators pointed out that recruiting was within the state of Oregon, but that Oregon State University waived out of state tuition for Indians such as the Lummi, believing that where the University had a special capacity exceptions should be made to the general rule of recruiting exclusively in Oregon.

Some faculty members indicated they did not know the recruiting target areas; others indicated their awareness that Indian recruitment was primarily within the state of Oregon, with the exception of the Lummi from the state of Washington. Two faculty members who were aware of the general recruiting area indicated that urban and reservation populations were sought, and one perceptively noted that

recruitment was oriented toward "resource-based reservations," something which "complemented the institutional thrust" of Oregon State University.

EOP staff indicated that recruiting procedures were basically the same for Indian students as for others in the program. Personal contact was held to be particularly important. Contact is made with the school by phone and an effort is made to talk with the counselor. After a letter is written to arrange for a personal meeting, the recruiter meets with counselors and students. For students this may take the form of a group meeting where the program is explained. There may be little time for really interviewing students, the purpose being to present the program. A followup letter or second appearance by the recruiter may follow this initial appearance. EOP staff indicated, then, they try to reach and maintain good relationships with school counselors where there are large numbers of Indian students as well as leaders on the reservation before undertaking major recruiting efforts.

Administrators and faculty did not evince any special knowledge of recruiting procedures, but they did indicate that Upward Bound and the Native American counselor were helping to develop means for more effectively reaching Native Americans in the state of Oregon. Faculty knowledge of recruiting procedures was largely absent, though

one said "personal contact" was probably a vital element and another that procedures were "too random." Faculty and administrative knowledge, then, was extremely limited in terms of the mechanics of recruitment, while being more aware and concerned in terms of results as noted below.

Problems in recruiting Indian students led to a range of views among EOP staff. One emphasized that Indians were skeptical of Oregon State. Indians, it was said, pointed to other universities with better Indian programs, saying in effect, "What's new" at Oregon State, and that they could just as easily obtain federal financial aid at other schools. Also, this staff member said, Oregon State had the image of not caring about Indian students, with Indian community leaders making this point in particular. On one recruiting trip, the Indian counselor found that schools with heavy concentrations of Indian students also raised the question of Oregon State's commitment to Indian students. One counselor at Madras High School, it was said, asked this question directly and at the same time indicated an apparently widespread feeling that the EOP was geared more toward Blacks and Chicanos than Indians. This staff member went on to emphasize that if the recruiter is not an Indian there is even more suspicion in different Indian communities, an important factor in hampering past recruiting of Indian students by EOP given the lack of Indian staff in

the program. The general feeling of this staff member was that Oregon State would have to substantially increase its contact with Indian communities, urban and reservation, through a full-time and capable Indian recruiter. One staff member emphasized that the key problem was that Indians wanted to stay close to home, such as at Warm Springs. Another, however, emphasized lack of Indian staff, the Indians' feeling that the University was just recruiting them to get financial aid, and the lack of an Indian program as factors in poor recruitment of Indians by the EOP. Another mentioned that distrust stemmed from past failures to send Indians as recruiters, the University's poor reputation, the fact that too often high school counselors did not see Indian students as college material, and the lack of time and money to do an adequate job of recruiting. Most EOP staff, then, saw the recruiting problems as stemming from deficits within the EOP itself, such as the lack of Indian staff, lack of a more discernible Indian program, or lack of resources to support a more sustained recruiting effort, all of which in the past had hindered recruitment and fostered a negative image for the University in Indian communities or schools with large numbers of Indian students.

Administrators generally were aware of problems associated with recruiting Indians. One said: "It is more

difficult to interest Indians in higher education than middle class whites or Blacks or Chicanos." Another administrator pointed to how EOP had experienced difficulty in the past recruiting Native Americans when it was done by a Chicano. It was his expressed hope that there would be a full-time Indian counselor and recruiter who would routinely check with Indian communities, thereby increasing the number of students. A third administrator saw recruiting problems as follows: "Finding them; identifying them. There is a communications problem. The recruiter may not be from the same ethnic background. The students may not know what they want out of higher education; what profession to go into. There is probably a lack of models, professionals, they can know about beforehand, and visualize what they will do at Oregon State." Administrators, then, generally pointed to recruiting problems due to the ethnic background of the recruiter and attitudes and conditions within the Indian community which worked against seeking higher education and therefore influenced recruitment efforts.

While a few faculty members did not know about recruiting problems associated with Native Americans and EOP, many others did and were vocal in their concerns about recruiting. One said: "The recruiting is very poor. It must be changed radically. This must have aggressive

administrative support. There is no systematic recruiting; there is no full-time staff person in the field. They must work to identify a variety of Indian students." Another said: "The problem is that Oregon State University does not have good contacts with reservations in Oregon or the Pacific Northwest or enough students from there. There is no attempt to recruit urban Indians. In the cities we have many educationally disadvantaged and culturally isolated peoples who are being neglected." This person went on to emphasize the need to increase contacts with urban areas in terms of Indian student recruitment. A third faculty member emphasized the problem as the lack of a full-time Indian recruiter and the need to do more in the area. Pointed to was the need for each professional school to have a contact person with EOP to encourage greater recruitment of minorities to the University. Pharmacy was cited as an example of one school that gave some six-thousand dollars to promote minority recruitment, including Native Americans throughout Oregon, particularly those on the reservation. A fourth faculty member said: "People have said it is difficult to recruit when there is no Indian staff member." A fifth said the problem of recruitment was the fact that "OSU lacks a full-time recruiter." And a sixth faculty member indicated that he "would like to see more recruitment of Indian students." Faculty generally

indicated, then, that the University could do more in the way of recruiting greater numbers of Indian students, more types of Indians, and do so through a full-time Indian staff person in the recruiting area.

Entrance and Orientation. Initial incorporation into the University and orientation to it were important general functions of the EOP which affected Indians and other ethnic students. Students would be given information on the admissions process, helped with tests or their waiving where applicable, registration, and other activities common to matriculation in the college environment.

Orientation involved familiarization with the campus facilities and their variable functions, such as the library. Awareness of the community and the opportunities it provided were made known. Information on housing on and off-campus was available to EOP students.

Various forms of discussions initially and in EOP "block courses" involved a continuing assessment of the problems of adaptation that students from culturally different backgrounds would face in a cultural institution of the dominant society. Problems with academics as well as personal and social problems of adjustment were considered, as they were of concern to EOP staff on a continuing basis.

Students were urged to become involved in the student unions on campus as another method of learning about the

college environment and how to operate in it. EOP staff members were aware of the role of the ethnic community on campus in the initial and continuing adaptation of ethnic students. Native American students, for example, made it clear that an effective student union was important in this area, particularly when it came to the initial phase of learning about the University and community. Older students within the EOP as well as in the student unions were looked to for assistance in the critical period when a student was entering and being oriented to the University setting.

Tutoring. Along with counseling and academic advising, a major service function of the EOP was tutoring. The philosophy and goal of the EOP program was to provide a tutor for every student who needed one in a particular class. Also, the goal was to have such tutoring on a one to one basis. The EOP used volunteers and work study people in tutoring its students, even students from the School of Education who obtained credit through their education course by tutoring a student in EOP. Now anyone can obtain credits if they tutor. The EOP was increasingly using its own students as much as possible to tutor, and as will be noted, (See Curriculum Development) they were attempting to train such persons to assume this role through a leadership orientation class. The movement

toward utilizing students in the program was premised upon increasing the stake of the student in the program, helping him financially, increasing his skills, and his empathy regarding others with academic problems.

Other general and specific skills development were a part of the EOP's program. These are considered more fully in the Curriculum Development functions of EOP.

Counseling and Academic Advising. A major function of the EOP parent organization was counseling. This, too, was a major functional aspect of the Native American program within EOP. Counseling became the focal point of interaction wherein the identity benefits of having ethnic staff from certain backgrounds and orientations was expected to come into play. In the case of the Native American counselor, the anticipated outcome was that Indians would have a stronger sense of identity within EOP and that this would be adaptive to their educational efforts at Oregon State University. A brief description of the general counseling function of the EOP is presented below, along with Native American students' relationships to it.

Counseling in EOP might take the form of helping students make up their course programs, assisting with personal problems, holding orientation sessions at the beginning of the academic year, and the like. It was indicated that a strong emphasis was put upon personal contact

between staff and students as being central to the counseling task. Until the fall of 1972, all staff counseled. But at that time the EOP was able to put six graduate assistants (including the Indian counselor), each on a one-third time basis, to work on the counseling function. Each counseled a given number of students, particularly freshmen, in the social and academic areas. Regular staff concentrated on older students.

The counselors were from different ethnic backgrounds. The general approach in EOP was to work with students from all backgrounds. The counselor was expected, and the system was so structured, to operate on a cross-cultural basis. Nonetheless, it was recognized that students from one ethnic background might relate more effectively with someone from the same ethnic or racial group. So there was a tendency for Blacks to counsel Blacks, Chicanos to counsel Chicanos, and Native Americans to counsel Native Americans. Yet this was always circumscribed by an underlying philosophy in the EOP program which emphasized the cross-cultural integration of ethnic differences into one structure. Therefore, while there was a tendency for each ethnic group to relate in the counseling situation to its own members, there was an equally important pressure to constrain this by emphasizing the cross-cultural aspect of the counseling role.

Native American students indicated that they had as a group used the counseling service of EOP and that of the Indian counselor. Several of the Indian students' favorable comments about EOP stemmed from the counseling sessions they had with assorted EOP staff. Only one Indian student indicated that counseling had been sought and denied.

Indian students did express, in several cases, their dissatisfaction with the Native American Counseling Program. This dissatisfaction was directed mostly at its part-time nature and the desire to see it made full-time. At the same time, the Indian counselor indicated dissatisfaction with the need to counsel other ethnic students, something which was a complaint among other ethnic students and leaders, according to some informants.

Native American leaders on campus were desirous of having an Indian cultural center where the Indian counselor and students could interact more freely within their own group setting. This attitude was in part derived from the need of the Indian counselor to divide time with other ethnic students.

Related to counseling was academic advising. The EOP's staff indicated that it had encouraged faculty members to voluntarily assist in advising EOP students on a more systematic basis than University students usually received.

The EOP advised its students on courses and instructors. It also checked with faculty in particular courses on how students were doing. EOP staff also worked with students to understand the course requirements and training necessary to complete a degree in a particular field.

Curriculum Development. Native American program design and development in EOP did not include curriculum functions, although the Indian counselor was attempting to increase the quantity and quality of Indian studies courses in the regular curriculum dealing with Native Americans in 1972-1973. Native American students, along with other ethnic students, benefited from the curriculum efforts within EOP (e.g., the "block program") and EOP efforts in ethnic studies. These curriculum efforts are examined below.

In the main, the EOP's students relied upon the regular freshman and sophomore curriculum program of the institution. The program, however, was itself engaged in offering a limited number of courses. This is called the "block program." These courses were viewed as transitional or bridging ones for students who lacked academic skills, knowledge, or experiences in their backgrounds or in certain academic areas. EOP staff did not like to call the courses remedial, nor did they view them as being diluted in academic orientation or content. Rather, they were seen as a realistic and positive approach to helping students

with problems. Where the courses were once given without credit, now they are fully accredited. The same holds for courses that are a part of the regular curriculum but which are taught by the EOP and include only students in the EOP program.

Three primary transitional or bridging courses were:

- (1) English Composition 120X to improve writing skills;
- (2) Education 050X to improve reading; and (3) Education 059X to improve study skills. All of these courses carried three credits. These were taught by EOP staff and were restricted to its students. The courses were mainly designed for and required of Group III or three percent students; but Group I and Group II students could voluntarily take them.

The writing course was given to students before they took regular college courses in the area. Here a major emphasis was put upon learning to write term papers. The study skills courses was combined with a health course, which was a part of the regular curriculum. In this case there was an immediate application of skills to a particular academic area. The reading improvement course encountered difficulty on a group basis, so it was offered on a one to one tutoring basis for those who requested it.

Regular courses in the curriculum that the EOP set aside for its "block program," and which EOP staff taught,

included Psychology IIIA for three credits and Math 50A (Algebra) for four credits. In the psychology course there was again an attempt to relate the content of the course to the problems of students by concentrating on the personal adjustment problems of students to the college environment. Math 50A was a course that extended over two terms rather than one, thus allowing more time in the study of a subject which many EOP students had difficulty in regardless of background and academic success in high school. Other new additions to the regular curriculum offerings of EOP, it was said, would be Speech III and an introduction to science course.

EOP staff stated that the changing of the reading improvement course to a one to one tutorial basis, the combining of health content and study skills, and the addition of new courses were significant curriculum innovations. An instructional innovation pointed to was the Leadership Orientation Class instituted in the spring of 1972. Here older and more successful students in the program were trained for tutoring roles and/or a teaching role in a course such as Psychology IIIA. The persons who assumed these roles received credit for performing them.

Curriculum and instruction, then, were viewed as a process of helping high risk students and other EOP students to receive compensatory education, assistance with

difficult courses in the regular curriculum, and courses which were practical and related to their own situations. Moreover, opportunities were provided to assume tutorial or teacher roles which would increase their awareness of learning difficulties, build knowledge, and allow students to participate on a para-professional basis within the program and University system.

In other areas of curriculum, namely ethnic studies, the EOP was not charged with any direct responsibilities here. The EOP wanted to see the further development of an ethnic studies program which would represent the different ethnic groups which were a part of the program. It was pointed out, however, that EOP did not want ethnic studies as a part of its own structure, seeing such a program as an academic venture. The EOP as a program did not formally push for different ethnic studies programs, although some informants said it could if leadership were forthcoming. However, individual members of the staff were involved in helping to develop, along with students and a few faculty, pressures for more ethnically relevant courses. Some progress was cited beyond a few courses concerning Black Americans. More courses on the Native American and Chicano were to be offered. But in the main these efforts were seen as being due to the efforts of interested faculty and pressures from students. As of the 1972-1973 academic

year, the committee concerned with ethnic studies had not been able to implement a program.

History, anthropology, psychology, speech, and education were cited as departments that had been in the forefront in volunteering to set aside courses or having courses that fell within ethnic studies. Some EOP staff members, however, saw these as relatively minor efforts compared with what could be done. The general feeling expressed was that without major support and real determination on the part of the University administration, viewed as lacking at the time, things would continue to be in a state of immobility. Too, EOP staff indicated that certain parts of the University could do more. The School of Education was particularly singled out as having done too little in the area of offering courses in cross-cultural counseling, ethnic education, and educational problems of the culturally different.

Thus, while the EOP had not directly involved itself in the area of ethnic studies curriculum, individual staff members did. This, it was pointed out, was due to personal commitment and the need of staff to respond to the demands of students in the program and the ethnic student unions. Since minority students tended to relate to the ethnic staff member in the EOP, and he or she to them, the staff member of necessity had to take some action in this area,

informants stated. But as of the 1972-1973 academic year these and related pressures had not sufficiently moved the administration and faculty to expand into a coherent program of ethnically relevant courses for minority and majority students.

Financial Aids. Financial aids available to the students in the EOP program were largely controlled by the University. A student receives a financial aid package consisting of an Educational Opportunity Grant, National Defense Student Loan, or College Work Study funds. Different proportions of each is made up into a total package. EOP assists its students in learning about these. If a student is economically disadvantaged, he can enter the EOP. The program sends the student a financial aid application and a family financial statement. These are processed by the EOP and sent on to the Financial Aid Office. The amount of financial aid is not conducive to "high living" as one informant stated. Another said students "were not financially secure" at Oregon State and more money and grants were needed. One said that it was adequate, but there were cultural pressures among some students who were expected to help their family and this created problems. Generally, the feeling was that students could make it. Students could receive emergency loans and funds through the University. This function was

no longer a part of EOP because of past abuses wherein uncollected debts mounted. This led to the reassertion of University control in all areas of financial aid once controlled by EOP.

The very existence of the EOP is directly tied to the financial aid base of its students. The central role of the Financial Aid Committee in the maintenance and expansion of the program has been put as follows:

The Financial Aid Committee has had, in a sense, the most crucial role of any university body, in the maintenance and growth of the Educational Opportunities Program. Its decisions determine for the university community the size and scope of the EOP program by the limitations it can impose on the numbers of economically disadvantaged students it agrees to support in awarding financial aid resources (Oregon State University 1972:2).

In its requests to the Financial Aid Committee for the 1973-1974 academic year, the EOP emphasized the need to expand the number of financial aid packages for several reasons. One reason cited was the lack of additional aid would lock out more ethnic minority students who wanted but could not therefore obtain higher education. Second, that along with academic assistance, social and cultural adjustment to the college environment were important in the prevention of dropping out by minority students. Therefore, more financial aid would bring more students to campus and encourage the development of a "home community" that would promote social and cultural adjustment. Third, a

larger pool of minority students would provide a base for the emergence of leadership in the upper-grades, an important element in the adaptation process and the prevention of dropping out. Fourth, greater financial aid would strengthen the EOP program and thus attract ethnic minority students with better academic records. And fifth, the increasing size of ethnic groups on campus would increase the opportunities for awareness of cultural pluralism by students of the majority culture and promote opportunities for greater interaction and learning between members of different groups.

While there were other sources of financial aid that have grown in significance (bank loans, scholarships, and grants) and were a part of a student's financial aid package, the three major forms of financial aid from the federal government bulked large in the EOP financial aid base. Their increase over time is one indicator of the growth of the EOP. These three categories of federal assistance are shown below in Table 10:

TABLE 10

Federal Financial Aid to Educational Opportunity  
Program Students: 1969-1973

<u>Category of Aid</u>	<u>Year</u>			
	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Educational Opportun- ity Grant	25,069	63,200	89,954	106,000
National Defense Student Loan	34,120	70,500	94,730	120,000
College Work Study Program	<u>5,913</u>	<u>2,600</u>	<u>22,102</u>	<u>29,000</u>
Total	65,102	136,300	206,786	255,000

Sources: Programs for the Disadvantaged in the State System of Higher Education, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Office of Academic Affairs, December 18, 1972, p.69; and Educational Opportunities Program Financial Aid Request for 1973-74, Educational Opportunities Program, Oregon State University, Fall 1972, p.7.

For 1973-1974, the EOP requested an increase in the federal categories of aid from \$1889 per student to \$2300 per student and an increase of one hundred and fifteen students over the previous year at the new per student figure of \$2300. This would have brought the total number of EOP students up to 250 and the total financial aid for the three categories to 575,000 dollars, a doubling of the previous year's figure (Ibid.: 7).

While relying mainly on federal financial aid

assistance, numerous informants pointed out, both inside and outside of EOP, that many departments on the Oregon State campus were providing grants and scholarships for minority students.

When asked about work study monies and their relationship to the EOP's operations, staff members indicated that work study money was used to "flesh out" an aid package and did help in the achievement of program goals to a degree. EOP students on work study were used mostly in other University departments. Where once freshmen could not receive it, now everyone can. Supervision of it left much to be desired, informants stated. EOP students can do clerical work, tutoring, and recruiting within the program and be paid through work study. Increasingly, it was said, work study funds were being used to meet EOP program goals and needs when compared to the past.

#### Enculturational Functions

Informants at Oregon State University were questioned to determine the degree and areas in which there was a manifestation in structural and ideological terms of enculturational functions for Native Americans on campus. First, informants were asked to give a general overview of how they felt Oregon State University was doing in providing for the bicultural education (building for dual cultural

competencies in Indian and non-Indian cultures) of Native Americans through the educational process. While informants thus commented on both acculturational and enculturational functions, the thrust of their comments were towards the question of whether the institution was adequately making provision for enculturational functions generally and within the Native American program specifically. Second, information was sought on the group maintenance aspects of enculturational functions in the areas of promoting Indian identity, interaction, and values as these related to the Native American program and the Native American Student Union.

Overview of Institutional Provision for Enculturational Functions. EOP staff, administrators, faculty, and Indian students were asked to comment on how well Oregon State University was doing in terms of providing a bicultural education for Indian students. This was put in the form of the following question: "Do you feel that this institution (Oregon State University) is educating Indian students to function competently in both the Indian and non-Indian cultures? If not, in what ways is it failing to?" The responses of informants were in the main directed toward views on enculturational functions. Also to be noted in the perceptions of some informants was the question of whether Oregon State University as an institution was

capable of influencing enculturational functions, which involved building competence in Indian culture. Others felt the University could affect this function and indicated some measure of it. At the same time, many felt the Native American program section of the EOP could and should be involved with and influencing this function, while for some informants there was a question of whether it should affect enculturational functions, seeing instead the Native American Student Union's activities as promoting this function.

All EOP staff saw the University as building competency for the non-Indian culture and failing to build competence for Indian culture. One said: "Yes in non-Indian culture, but not for Indian culture." A second saw the University as failing to educate for cultural diversity, and that a lack of a full-time Indian staff member and the lack of Indian studies courses showed failure to educate for competence in Indian culture. A third said: "Oregon State is teaching white structure but not Indian culture." And a fourth noted that Indian students could apply knowledge gained at Oregon State to the Indian culture and community. This person further assumed that Indian students were already "able to function in Indian culture," and that Oregon State was "providing some means to function in white culture." But other comments indicated that the University was not providing for greater competence in the Indian

culture if that were interpreted to mean the presence of more Indian courses, a full-time Indian staff member, and more development of the Native American program.

Administrators' varied in their perceptions of how well Oregon State was biculturally educating Indian students. Two administrators saw building cultural competence in the majority culture as being done by the University, but they questioned whether the University could do much to help build competence in Indian culture. One said: "I don't think the University has any ability to help Indians in the Indian culture; but it is helping in the majority culture." And the second administrator said: "I do not so far as the Indian culture (building cultural competence). I do not think we have much capacity to affect this. We presume he already can function in his own culture. Our job is to give him academic, professional training, etc., and some exposure to American culture." Two other administrators felt the University was failing in bicultural education but could do more. One said that bicultural education was "only by accident" at Oregon State but that he hoped the University would be doing it. He went on to say: "Where we fall short, we are guilty. Only until recently have we helped them adjust to the white culture -- this is by accident. We have not built for Indian culture at all." The second administrator said that Oregon State had not been

building dual cultural competencies, seeing too great an emphasis on "technical courses" rather than "generalized education" and there was "not enough humanistic education going on." The education of the University was "too much discipline-oriented."

Six faculty members saw the University as providing some competence in non-Indian culture. Another saw a failure in this area given the lack of a sufficient counseling program to help Indian students adjust to the University. One faculty member did not respond in this area; another concluded that "I don't think you can teach anyone to be competent in a culture through a university." Given this latter statement, that left eight faculty who commented on the role of the University in building competence in Indian culture. And of these seven saw Oregon State as failing in this area. The eighth faculty member raised the question of the ability of the University to build competence and posited the assumption that it already existed relative to Indian culture. This was put as follows: "Yes, we are training for non-Indian culture. But if they cannot by the time they reach the university function in their own, the university cannot reverse this. I do not think you can teach someone who has not thought Indian or been Indian to do so in a four year period." The comments of the other seven faculty members were as follows (to include

commentary on building competence in non-Indian culture):

- . Yes for some who have technological skills and orientation. No, only in a minor way is Oregon State University helping in Indian culture. Very minimal orientation to education for both systems.
- . We are teaching them the technology of the majority culture. We are not training them for Indian culture. If so, it is by accident and circumstance.
- . A Native American who graduates from Oregon State is competent in non-Indian culture. But not in Indian given lack of programs.
- . No. We do not have enough counseling time to adjust to Oregon State. There is little University reflection and recognition of Indian culture, especially in the curriculum.
- . Decent job in ways of the white man. Oregon State is doing a good job of technological education. It is here. Not in Indian culture -- lack of curriculum development in dealing with Indian adaptation to polycultural settings.
- . In non-Indian culture, yes. But Indian culture, no. There is nothing to support Indian education in cultural terms.
- . No. It is not educating them for the Indian culture. There are no courses.

A number of faculty, then, indicated the University was doing an adequate job in terms of technological education. And several noted the lack of courses or curriculum as being indicative of a failure to build competence in Indian culture at the institution.

Indian students in the majority of cases, seven of eleven students, did not feel that Oregon State was helping Indian students to function competently in the Indian culture. Four students indicated that Oregon State was doing

all right in this area. Only one student said Oregon State was not doing all right in the non-Indian culture; with four students saying it was building competence for the non-Indian culture; and six who did not indicate a response. In the latter case, however, students often directed the totality of their remarks toward the lack of University efforts in the area of Indian culture. And by implication, as well as other comments, indicated that the University was doing an adequate job in the area of academics or education.

Indicative of the view that the University was educating adequately for dual cultural competencies were the following: "Yes. You are taking the same courses as everyone else is. The EOP provides Indian culture awareness;" and "I am learning about Indian culture through classes" or "Yes. They are doing O.K. here." Of those who saw the University falling down in building Indian cultural competence, the following comments were made:

- . Not in the area of Indian culture. There is nothing related to Indians here. The EOP staff is limited but it tries. We need more Indians here. I was brought up off-reservation, so I know white culture.
- . No. There are no courses on Indians, but there are courses for Blacks and Chicanos. Oregon State University is doing O.K. in teaching white culture.
- . Not in Indian culture. My education is taking me further away from Indian culture.
- . No. First, Indian courses are lacking. Second, whites are not learning about Indians, particularly in the School of Education.

- . No. They are only teaching us to function in white culture. They are not really teaching me as an Indian student but as a white student. The college does not recognize Indians as Indians with unique problems.
- . Depends if they baby them in school. I don't want to be babied because I am an Indian and then get in front of a classroom and not be competent. Oregon State University is certainly not training teachers, for example, to teach in or about Indian culture or other minority cultures. The School of Education is too middle class in its approach for teachers, not cross-cultural.
- . No. I try to get to know my professors. But they categorize Indians and just want to talk about something like the takeover at Adair. Professors don't give out as a student or person (to me). You are treated as a curiosity -- an Indian -- first. One professor did not think I would show up for an appointment, because of his experience with other Indian students. I don't want to be treated as a minority curiosity or classified. They are overdoing the minority bit. They are not helping Indian students to become competent in Indian culture.

Additional insights on enculturational functions were obtained through an examination of informant views on the Native American program and bicultural education.

Informants were asked about their perceptions of the Native American program's functions in bicultural education in the following manner: "Some people have said that the Native American program section of the EOP helps its students to learn non-Indian culture while maintaining a sense of Indian identity and values. Do you agree?"

All EOP staff indicated their belief that the program tried to do this or did it. Thus, one staff member saw the presence of the Indian counselor and the fact that the

Indian students had a "focal point" in the counselor and counseling program as promoting this. Another staff member saw the whole of EOP as helping "Indians get through a WASP institution" and that the "EOP staff foster ethnic unions." This person did not, however, see "Oregon State University as an institution" promoting this dual cultural learning.

Two administrators expressed the hope that the program worked toward this end. Thus, one said: "I would hope it does." And the other: "I think it would be nice if it did. It is a goal and I hope there is some attainment of it." While a third did not know, a fourth administrator said the University was promoting non-Indian culture but was "not sure we are helping preserve Indian values and identity."

Six faculty members did not know whether the Native American program was operating to promote bicultural education, but most of these persons "hoped it did" or saw it as an "ideal objective" of the program. One faculty member said it was not, but he indicated "it could and should, however, given greater program development." An eighth faculty member said the Indian counselor's "job is to help them adjust to the white environment and still maintain Indian identity and values," hence, the program was to that degree achieving the goal. And another faculty member saw

the program giving "some very general knowledge and identity" to its members, but "if they really had pow-wows, ceremonies, etc., then they would" really be achieving the objective. "But not presently," he went on to say, seeing the "need for a strong leader and a strong program to do this." His general conclusion was that "too many minority staff cannot solve their own problems, let alone student problems."

When Indian students were asked if the program helped its members to learn non-Indian culture while maintaining a sense of Indian identity and values, six answered it did not and five answered in the affirmative. Here, again, few students commented on learning non-Indian culture; most directed their remarks to the question of maintaining Indian identity and values through the program. Of those who agreed with the proposition, some extended comments were as follows: "Yes. When Indians get together it helps build Indian values and identity" and "I am learning Indianness but also about other races." This latter person, however, went on to say that more could be done to promote Indianness: "I want to see traditionalism as functionally possible in modern society. Let's get Indians into the universities to teach Indian languages. I want reservation Indians who know the language to come to the university or help Indians learn the traditional language." Of those who

felt the program was failing to help maintain Indian values and identity, some examples of extended comment were as follows:

- . No there is no real organization or communication in the program among Indians.
- . No. We have not had any Indian courses or real exchanges between the (Indian) cultures.
- . I have not seen it.
- . They introduce non-Indian values and culture, which we have already learned. We have an Indian counselor. But mainly not much else.
- . No. The one's directing or involved in the program should have an open mind. There should be Indian courses on traditional Indian culture. It is learning stick games, history, etc.

Maintenance Aspects of Enculturational Functions. Informants at Oregon State University were questioned about the maintenance aspects -- Indian identity, values, and interaction -- of enculturational functions through the Native American program. Indian students were specifically questioned about the operations of the Native American Student Union in these areas. Observational data also provided insights on the activities of the student union in promoting enculturational functions.

EOP staff, administrators, and faculty members were asked "Does the Native American program section of the EOP increase the sense of Indian identity among the Native American students?" and if so in what ways.

EOP staff varied in their responses. Two said it did.

As one staff member stated: "Yes, it does. By having an Indian counselor here. Having someone to encourage them. More good could be done with a full-time person." A second person said that "it attempts to" but the problem was the limited number of students in the program. Two others said it did not. But one of these said it could provide greater identity, seeing the "setting up of an ethnic studies program" as one way of achieving this.

Three administrators felt that the program did increase the sense of Indian identity among the Native American students and was to some degree doing so. Thus, one administrator said: "I gather it does. This is an assumption. The visibility of a person or counselor in EOP helps. Spatially they have an office, and the faculty is offering courses. This helps." Two others said "I thought it did, and I still think it can" and "My impression is it does." While a fourth administrator concluded: "I am not sure it does. The Indian club does this more."

Four faculty indicated that the Native American program section of EOP did increase the sense of Indian identity of Native American students, while five indicated they did not know if the objective was being achieved but that such a program could achieve it. Of faculty saying the program definitely increased Indian identity for students, three pointed to the presence of an Indian counselor as helping

to provide identity. As one said: "I am sure it does, especially with the counselor there. They (Indian students) identify strongly with the Indian counselor." Or, as another said: "With a counselor, yes; but not without one." A third said: "Ideally it should. And the Indian counselor's presence helps." A fourth faculty member felt the program did provide a "point of identity and anchorage" and a feeling among the Indian students that "they have a special thing in the University." Three other faculty did not know if the program was operating to provide identity but indicated it could in statements such as "Ideally, yes" or "it could" and "it would help some." One other faculty member indicated it was capable of meeting this objective but was not given lack of "time, resources, and a community to do it," also seeing the small number of Indian students as a factor. And another faculty member saw the Indian club rather than the Native American program section of EOP meeting the identity needs of the Indian students, although stating that the latter could do this.

Indian students were asked if their sense of Indian identity had been increased by being a member of the Native American program section of the EOP and if so in what ways. Six Indian students said their identity had been increased. Of these, four gave extended answers as follows:

. Yes. I have met other Indians.

- . Yes. Conversations with other Indians. Because I did not have an Indian identity when I came.
- . Yes, because the Indian counselor is there -- or a person who is there on the basis of my descent.
- . Yes. In cultural terms. The program has made me aware of the need to return to the old ways. For example, religion.

But one of these six students indicated there was a problem of over-identification when asked if his sense of Indian identity had been increased by being a member of the program: "Yes, too much. Indian students are needed by the EOP so that they can say they have Indians." One of the five students who said his identity had not been increased also made reference to identification by others: "The only reason I am identified as an Indian is because I have been tagged so." Both of these students had remarked in numerous conversations that their high visibility as Indian student leaders on campus had become a role-burden for them. Too many persons were seen as making demands upon them to speak for or represent Native American viewpoints. Of the five students stating their sense of Indian identity had not been increased by being a member of the program, two said it could be "if it was more together" as one stated or as another said at length: "No. I felt more as an Indian at Chemawa than at Oregon State...Here it is a gathering of 'brown people.' At Chemawa we had pow-wows, dances, games, and gave Indian dances at different places....Being an

Indian here is just sitting around and talking about it."

To determine the EOP staff, administrators, and faculty's perceptions of the Native American program section's efforts in promoting Indian culture through the program, each was asked: "Does the Native American program section of the EOP help Native American students to increase their knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture? If so, in what ways?"

Two EOP staff members indicated that an effort was being made to increase knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture through the program; two others did not think this was being done. One who felt it was pointed to the Indian counselor's attempt to get more Native American culture courses on campus, the opportunity the program provided students to become "aware and knowledgeable about other Indians than just their own small reservation areas," and the counselor's work with the Native American Student Union on projects related to Indian culture. Cited as an example of the latter was how the Indian club was considering a project which would prepare short tapes on Indian history and culture for an airline company when its planes flew over different reservation areas. Another view, however, was that "not particularly" much was being done to promote Indian culture given the fact there was "nothing structured to do" so in EOP.

One administrator said, "Perhaps to a limited extent" that the program was promoting Indian culture, while another said "Not given what we are doing now" but "we could do more." A third did not see the promotion of Indian culture through the program "unless they can produce courses," although "social activity from other sources might" achieve this. A fourth administrator did not know if the program was achieving this end.

Three faculty members saw the program as assisting in students' knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture. Two felt the Indian counselor did this; while a third said, "Yes in a latent way, not manifestly," concluding that persons in EOP did not know much about Indian culture. Other faculty did not know in five cases but expressed in most cases a belief that "I hope so" or "ideally it could," with a sixth faculty member saying "no" because the program was not fully developed to achieve the goal, although it should be. Also to be noted here is the feeling of one person who observed, "I have not thought of that (increasing knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture) as its primary function," while acknowledging "it could."

When Indian students were asked if their knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture had been increased by being a member of the Native American program section of EOP and if so in what ways, nine Indian students said it had not

and two said it had. In the latter case, one Indian student said, "Yes. By being around other Indian students" and another said, "A little bit. It has made me want to read more." Those saying it had not commented as follows:

- . No. It could though -- say through speaking to high school classes. I am in the program at Crescent Valley.
- . No. Because I am busy with my family and studies.
- . No.
- . I cannot say it has.
- . No increase in knowledge, because they are trying to use us.
- . No. But it would have to be a different program. EOP and Native American program are helping you adjust to the University, not helping learn Indian culture. The program would have to be more like the Indian club.
- . No. We have not had enough to increase this. We had one pow-wow. But we need to do more things.
- . No. Back home in the community it is but not here. We particularly need more Indian courses.
- . No. One cannot deal with other Indian students. Cannot find out about Warm Springs or Lummi. Not getting cooperation among Indians. Each is too separate.

An effort was also made to examine the activities of the Native American Student Union relative to enculturational functions.

Apparent at Native American Student Union meetings throughout the fall of 1972 were the small number of Indian students in attendance. Concern was expressed at all meetings about recruiting more Indians for the club. Initially

there were many faculty members who attended the first meetings of the club; but this soon dropped off sharply after a few meetings. Discussions at the meetings considered getting an Indian cultural center (the University provided one for all minorities on campus in the Home Economics Building; but Native Americans wanted a meeting place of their own); getting more Native American courses; publicity for the Native American Student Union; cooperating with the Association for the Advancement of Urban Indians (a locally-based Indian organization seeking to assert urban Indian interests in various community action programs, community organizations, and in the community colleges and universities of the state) to increase the voice of Indians at Oregon State; perhaps having an "Indian Year Book" which would list all the tribes and activities of Indian students at Oregon State; or starting a newspaper for Indian students on campus; working to get more books on Indians for the library and for the Native American program office in EOP; and providing short sketches of Indian culture and history on given reservations for an airline as its planes passed over the reservations, these to be broadcast during the flight and for which the Oregon State Native American Student Union would receive credit. Several meetings were also devoted to the role that Indian students could play in the Indian studies section of an ethnic studies program at

Crescent Valley High School in Corvallis. These and other suggestions for club activity were designed to give the Native American Student Union a sense of purpose, recruit new members, and assert a Native American group viewpoint on and off-campus.

Indian students interviewed were asked what the major benefit, if any, was to the presence of a Native American student union on a university or college campus. Of the seven students who responded, three saying they did not know and one being not sure, there was an emphasis upon the socio-cultural unity such an organization provided for its members on campus. These comments were as follows:

- . Unity among Indian students.
- . More unity and basis for activity and goals.
- . Social. Indians get together.
- . Get to know other Indians.
- . It could help Indians to communicate with others more and learn traditional ways through dances, ceremonies, etc. The Indian club at OSU is very poor.
- . It helps me to deal with people in the University.
- . It gives Indians a chance to meet other Indians; a core to interact and socialize with and discuss problems.

To further gauge enculturational functions relative to the Native American Student Union, Indian students were asked how important the student union at Oregon State University was in helping Indian students to maintain Native

American identity and learn Indian culture. Nine of the Indian students saw the Native American Student Union as important in this area or that it could be. One person did not know, and the other said: "No. No one talks about their tribe or background." Those who saw the student union as important in maintaining Native American identity and learning Indian culture said the following:

- . Very important. It does this through money raising activities or the ability to interact with other Indians.
- . It could be if they got together and were motivated. But they are not now.
- . Very important. It could be one of its major functions.
- . In a way, yes. Not sure.
- . Probably. But I am here to study, not to be a social wig.
- . Pretty important, especially for kids coming off the reservation.
- . Yes. Planning an Indian week.
- . Very, very important.
- . It really is important in doing this. It should be open and formed by Indian students. The OSU Indian Club is not doing this.

In summary, Native American students indicated that Indian group maintenance on the Oregon State University campus was far from adequate. Enculturational functions through the extant program were seen as minimal, but there was the hope that a more fully developed Indian program in

EOP would strengthen the identity, values and interactions of Native Americans at Oregon State University. The quest for a more adequate Native American community extended to the student union as well, with many Indian students expressing dissatisfaction with it. Native American students, then, evinced a desire for a greater manifestation of structural supports for enculturational functions.

Other informant categories -- EOP staff, faculty, and administrators -- expressed in some cases, a hope and for others an expectation that extant structural supports were providing adequate enculturational functions.

Cultural Pluralism: The Organization of  
of Diversity at Oregon State  
University

The degree to which and areas within which Native Americans on the Oregon State University campus could maintain an Indian status and identity were influenced by the institution's manifest structuring for acculturational and enculturational functions. In brief, the University's organization of cultural diversity influenced these relationships for Native Americans.

At Oregon State University the initial structural response to ethnic differences was the creation of an Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services, later EOP. Initial phases of development in this interethnic structure of accomodation found Black group control and influence within the structure. After that, there was greater ethnic diversity and ethnic competition with the addition of Chicano and Indian students. A University attitude and policy that highly favored Blacks within the structure of interethnic accomodation (as expressed in size of group numbers and staff positions such as the directorship) shifted toward one of favoring the incorporation and articulation of other ethnic groups through the structure. This attitude and policy of broadening the ethnic base of the EOP structure was one of "controlled pluralism" which

reversed the original attitude and policy that primarily favored Blacks as an ethnic group in the EOP structure. The introduction of greater ethnic group differentiation and ethnic group competition was carried out by the means and method of appointing a Chicano as an assistant director and through him recruiting more Chicano and Indian students. This increased the power and size of the Chicano group in EOP and on campus. Although it increased the size of the Native American student group in EOP, their numbers were still far less than for other groups. Also lacking was an Indian staff role in EOP. By the spring of 1972, with demands for broadening the status of Indians within EOP, the question arose as to whether the university policy of stabilizing pluralism within the EOP would take the form for Indians that it had for Blacks and Chicanos: a high level staff position in the structure of interethnic accommodation and a substantial increase in student group size.

The initial University response to demands for Native American program design and development on campus took the form of a incipient Native American Counseling Program within the EOP, with the request from the state legislature for additional developmental funds. This start in Native American program design and development represented a question of the degree to which and the areas within

which the University was able or willing to manifestly structure for Indian cultural purposes in acculturational and enculturational terms. The past attitudes and policies of the University and the results of those attitudes and policies relative to the organization of cultural diversity on the Oregon State University campus influenced the perceptions of various informant categories in 1972-1973 on the question of University structuring for cultural purposes relative to Native Americans. The perceptions of informant categories on the developing relationships (acculturational and enculturational) and their structural expression constitute the basis for discussing below the organization of cultural diversity on the Oregon State University campus.

#### The Purposes of Indian Higher Education

Informants at Oregon State University were asked what they thought the purposes of Indian higher education were or "Indian education for what?" These views on the purposes of Indian higher education were indicative of perceptions of acculturational and enculturational functions and therefore related to institutional structuring for meeting the educational needs of Native Americans at Oregon State University.

All EOP staff agreed that the purpose of Indian higher education was to provide skilled persons who could

better serve the Indian community and/or culture. Thus one staff member saw Indian higher education as directed toward "Indian growth." There was a need for "Indian teachers for Indian children, Indian business people, and Indian doctors for Indian people." Indians who received higher education would "serve as models" to Indian and non-Indian, helping to break the stereotypes of Indians. A second person saw higher education for all ethnic groups, including Indians, as allowing those going through the process to "assume leadership roles in their home communities." This was a major goal of higher education. Such education allowed "individual options" and provided a capacity to "help their own people to get some options vis-a-vis the whiteman." A third staff member saw higher education for Indians as designed "to give Indians a better share of what this society is all about and still preserve Indian culture." This would increase the group's ability to "have a choice." And a fourth staff member saw Indians as "taking what they have learned back to the reservation or working with their own people wherever they may be."

Administrators tended to put a greater emphasis upon the capacitation and choices of Indians as individuals first rather than on education for Indian culture and group choice specifically. By increasing the individuals

abilities through education, his choices might result in either service to the Indian or mainstream cultures. Thus as one key administrator said: "The Indian is a part of North American culture and hopefully the use of the total human resources of these Indians will enrich society and the subculture. Some will go back to the reservation or into the mainstream culture." As a second administrator said: "The purpose for all in higher education is to increase choices anyone has available to them--either in mainstream or on the reservation is a matter of his choice. Our job is giving him the tools." A third administrator put an emphasis upon individual capacitation as follows: "Get job and perform adequately in society like all others. Higher education provides those tools." A fourth administrator also emphasized the role of individual choice for Indian students, but at the same time he stated the need for the University to do more in terms of helping preserve Indian culture and specifically relating to certain reservations in the Pacific Northwest which sent Indian students to Oregon State. This was put as follows: "There ought to be the ability to play a successful role whichever way they go -- Indian or non-Indian culture. For example, a wildlife major could go to the State Department or the tribe. I would hope Indians could preserve their culture. We (the University) should help Warm Springs,

Quinalt, Lummi, etc., develop their resources. Must preserve their cultures and give them a choice."

Five faculty members tended to put emphasis upon building the individual's competence relative to a job, knowledge, leadership, or self-identity. Thus relative to Indian education for what? one faculty member answered: "Knowledge for its own sake, a skill to get a job, to understand." A second member saw, "Higher education ought to provide Indians with professional capabilities to be economically viable in the larger or Indian culture." A third saw that higher education would "upgrade their potential or performance level in the dominant culture" or "being able to be leaders in either culture." A fourth said higher education would "give necessary skills to effectively compete for social mobility in a polycultural society" and that was the "fundamental purpose" of Indian higher education. And a fifth said: "Education for Indians the same as others--capacitate the individual. Education should provide a niche for the student and also allow him to render public service. Some may want to go back to the reservation; some may not want to." Two other faculty members emphasized competence in the non-Indian culture while maintaining Indian identity and values. This was put as follows by one when he said: "To take advantage of the skills, traditions, etc., of the academy

and the whole society and still retain Indian identity and culture. By higher education, they (Indian students) become broadened and see the total system. Indians need higher education in order to get certification." And two other faculty put a heavy emphasis upon the Indian aspect of higher education. Thus one said the purpose of Indian higher education was as follows: "To help Indians. The ability to remedy the acculturation by whites. To allow Indians to know what it means to be an Indian." This emphasis upon building for Indianness through higher education also included making "non-Indians understand the validity of cultural diversity," all the while helping Indian students to gain understanding and technical skills so that they were "capable of helping their own people." The other faculty member emphasizing the "Indian" aspect of higher education saw that "in an ideal sense it should provide greater knowledge to Indians of their culture" and "also some awareness of contributions of Indians to the dominant culture, e.g., Indian views about ecology and Western technology."

Indian students were also asked what they thought the purposes of Indian higher education should be. Nine of the Native American students indicated that the purpose was to help the Indian community or culture; two indicated that the purpose was to "get a degree." Of those who

indicated that the purpose was to help Indian people, the following comments were made:

- To help their people or themselves as individuals. There are people with all kinds of abilities in Indian communities and these talents must be developed. But one must not be solely branded as an Indian.
- To go back to the reservation and use one's training.
- To take your training and go back to the reservation and put it to use. Indian students can serve as models to others--a chain reaction, Also it helps me personally.
- To help themselves (Indians) more.
- More professionals for Indian communities; more Indians in the professions, period.
- You must be competitive and maintain your autonomy as Indians. To maintain their own culture.
- Education is one of the key elements in reservation development and the solving of reservation problems. Also, education is needed for functioning in the larger society. Only through education are we going to be able to go back and help people on the reservation.
- Help myself and my tribe to function; to bring up the standard of living.
- To use education to help our own people.

It is pertinent to note that when Indian students were asked if they planned to work in some area of Indian affairs after graduation, all but one indicated they would be, with seven mentioning a return to their own reservation and three mentioning teaching on a reservation, employment in the U.S. Indian Health Service, and counseling in the

Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Indian Studies and Native American Program Design and Development

An important indicator of how cultural diversity was to be organized at Oregon State University were the views of informants on Indian studies as a part of Native American program design and development. For different categories of informants, such courses were often seen as being central to providing for Indian identity, knowledge and appreciation of Indian culture by all students, especially Native American, and as a measure of whether the University was providing for competence in Indian culture for the Native American students. Thus views on Indian studies provide an important perspective on one structural response or structural alternative to the question of meeting perceived educational needs of Indian students at Oregon State University.

Informants were asked the following questions:

"Should there be a special emphasis on Indian studies at this institution (Oregon State University)?" EOP staff, administrators, and faculty were also asked if the Indian studies program should be a part of the EOP.

All EOP staff said there should be a special emphasis upon Indian studies at Oregon State. Three saw it as a part of an overall ethnic studies program in which there

was an Indian studies component, with one suggesting that courses taken in the area be mandatory for those in the School of Education. These three persons also agreed that any ethnic studies program with an Indian studies component should not be a part of EOP, seeing curriculum and supportive services as different. A fourth staff member saw the need for more courses in Indian studies and that such a program could be "coordinated with" the Native American program section of EOP, but that given its present structure it should not be a part of it. However, if the Native American program were more independent, this person added, then it could be within that framework.

All administrators agreed there should be more courses on Indian history and culture, that such courses should be a part of an interdisciplinary effort and not separate, and that these should not be a part of the EOP. These views, however, contained individual reactions to such studies programs. Thus one administrator at the highest levels indicated that "to a limited extent" the University should reflect cultural diversity on the campus. This person was opposed to independent Indian or minority programs. But he indicated that he would not oppose some type of faculty and student demand for an ethnic studies program. His view was that the target population of the University was one which was directed more toward getting Indian students

into professional schools such as forestry and the like. This indicated his belief that the major educational thrust should be toward building competency in these areas. A Native American studies program which might take the form of a major or minor was not utilitarian toward the education of many Indian students who were coming to Oregon State to obtain a technical education or learn how to relate to their reservation's resource development more effectively. There was also some wondering about how such courses could serve the needs of both majority and minority students at the same time; and he had not heard any "compelling arguments" as to how this might be bridged. Further, he indicated that what often happened was that once such programs started, many ethnic students themselves avoided the courses. There was also the problem of where one drew the line on which ethnic heritages were to have studies programs. In general, his conclusion was: "I have not seen a compelling enough case for ethnic studies. If I can see something that makes sense, comes from faculty, students, etc., I will not oppose it." A second administrator said he did not "want separate ethnic studies for minorities" because it "creates too much polarization." He agreed there should be more "awareness of each other" but "I want ethnic studies built into existing curriculum, an interdepartmental effort, perhaps." His general view

was toward more courses being offered by departments, seeing the State Board of Higher Education as not authorizing any undergraduate and interdisciplinary program in ethnic studies at Oregon State. He was also of the opinion there was a special need to "clean up American history courses regarding Native Americans." A third key administrator indicated there "should be courses on Native Americans as part of ethnic studies courses" and this "should be interdisciplinary." He, too, saw limited resources as making a major or minor in ethnic studies unlikely, let alone any program, concluding that "departments can do something and I would encourage them to" do so. And a fourth administrator felt there was a need for Indian studies but as a part of an interdepartmental ethnic studies program. He, however, was of the opinion that given the "politics of getting new courses" and programs, it was not likely that much would happen. New courses on Indian history and culture would not lead to a Native American studies program. He saw a need for ethnic studies and general education to be more related. In general, administrators seemed to imply that some courses on Native Americans might be offered by individual departments, as was being done, but that Indian studies as a program and/or ethnic studies with an Indian studies component was not likely at Oregon State, even though certain

administrators saw some type of program as desirable.

Faculty, too, were favorable toward more courses on Native Americans, opposed to separate programs, and emphasized some type of interdepartmental effort, and were against placement of such a program in EOP, but with one faculty member commenting that EOP ought to be pushing for an ethnic studies or Indian studies program on the campus. Expressive of the view that there should be an interdisciplinary approach was the following by a faculty member:

"I see it as an interdisciplinary program with its own committee. It is not desirable to set up separate Indian studies, etc. But I can accept ethnic studies." Or, as put by another: "Not a special emphasis on Indian studies. I am favorable to an interdepartmental emphasis on ethnic studies. But ethnic studies could be a dead-end like has happened to American studies students." A few faculty members, while rejecting separate ethnic studies programs and giving general acknowledgement to an interdepartmental approach, emphasized the other end of the spectrum. As one said: "I do not want a Department of Indian Studies. We must all know more about the Indian culture, history, and future. But not more courses. We must have interdepartmental ethnic studies and reassessment and revision within." Here there was a strong emphasis upon intra-departmental re-examination, giving more "equal time"

within a course to different groups, as one faculty member put it. Thus while all faculty rejected the concept of separate ethnic studies programs, and gave strong or general approval to an interdepartmental effort in ethnic studies, to include Indian courses, some felt that more effort could be put forward in reworking existing courses to give added emphasis rather than creating more new ones.

When Native American students were asked if there should be a special emphasis upon Indian studies at Oregon State University, all said "yes," except for one who said, "I guess." One student indicated Indian studies should be a part of EOP, while two said it should not. Some Indian students responded beyond an affirmative answer as follows:

- Yes. If they have an Indian who knows what he is talking about. With these profs, it is ridiculous.
- Yes. Particularly for those in education.
- Yes. Want to see more Indian courses and students here.
- Yes. I can see the value of it. For example, a course in Indian law in political science. The program should be a part of the University.
- Yes. On customs and religion.
- Yes. But not a part of the EOP.
- Yes. It should be a part of the Native American program section of EOP.

Native American Program Design and Development in the EOP

Informants at Oregon State University were queried about their views and recommendations for Native American program design and development in EOP.

The Indian students were asked if they had any general recommendations they would make for changes in the Native American program section of the EOP. In terms of how it functioned, the students' varied in their responses. Three said there was a need for greater unity in the program. Three others emphasized the need for a full-time counselor or more Indian staff. One said there was a need for greater Native American program independence from EOP given the dominance by other ethnic groups; this fact limited the initiatives of Indians within EOP. Two others did not have any recommendations. Asked about special services, seven of the students indicated no recommendations; but three mentioned an expanded counseling service through more Indian staff or a full-time Indian counselor, while a fourth emphasized changes in tutoring. Most students did not have any recommended changes in financial aids, although one said it "should be explained better." Another indicated no one seemed to know about the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' financial aid assistance and implied that the Native American program should be doing something in this area for its students. When asked about

recruiting, eight students emphasized the need for more recruiting by the Native American program section of EOP; two others had no recommendations, while another castigated past recruiting promises by EOP.

More specific recommendations were elicited after the formal interview. The Indian students were reminded that the University had requested an additional fifty-five thousand dollars from the state legislature for further development of the Native American Counseling Program in EOP. Students were asked what they would recommend with regard to the use of the funds. Thus they were asked to project their conceptions of design and development regarding the program. Seven of the Indian students recommended that the funds should be used to hire a full-time Indian counselor and a full-time Indian recruiter. One student said the funds should be used for recruiting; another that they be used to relate Indian students on campus more to surrounding reservation communities. Two did not know. Other comments by the students found two who wanted the Indian counselor to be an assistant director in EOP, feeling that just having an Indian counselor and/or recruiter was not enough. Additional secondary comments by students indicated three who saw the need for Indians to continue to work within EOP, while only one person stressed the need for greater Native American program autonomy.

Generally, the Indian students' design and development conceptions for a Native American program emphasized a more fully developed Native American counseling and recruiting program within EOP, with a few students emphasizing the need for an Indian person who was an assistant director in EOP.

Indian students were also asked if they had any general recommendations they would make for changes in Oregon State University as an institution. The most frequent recommendation, by four students, was the need for more Indian studies courses on campus. Other recommendations ranged from the need for an Indian counselor and recruiter, less University exploitation of Indians by having to play the role of Indians for various parts of the University, to the need for the University to allow Indians to live together more as a group in the dorms. Four students had no recommendations.

EOP staff, administrators, and faculty were asked if they would like to see any changes in the EOP plan and operations regarding Native Americans in such areas as selecting and recruiting students, curriculum, tutoring and counseling; administering financial aid, work study, placement and followup, and in the recruitment, selection, and training of staff. This provided for an opportunity to comment on design and development relative to the Native

American program section of EOP.

EOP staff indicated their desire to see more recruitment of Indian students and more Indian staff on a full-time basis within EOP to provide for effective recruiting and counseling. Curriculum within EOP was seen by most staff members as being transitional courses, not Indian studies. However, some staff members stated that EOP should push for more ethnic studies courses, including Indian courses, within the regular curriculum. Financial aid, work study, placement and followup were seen as regular services of EOP, not anything particular to a Native American program. Most EOP staff, then, saw a Native American program designed and developed within the EOP structure, concerned with recruiting and counseling Indian students, which would thus allow for the expressed desire of having more Indian staff within EOP. One staff member wanted more autonomy for ethnic programs generally within EOP and another specifically for Native Americans. Two others opposed autonomy. In general, most EOP staff interviewed saw the program design in terms of counseling and recruiting within EOP, to include close interaction by Indian staff with other ethnic students and staff. One staff member, however, saw Native American program design and development as more Indian-directed and oriented. While wanting more Indian staff, more recruiting and

effective counseling, the vision here was one of greater Native American program autonomy. The program would seek to reach all Indian students on campus, expand contacts with Indian communities, encourage and have a voice in the development of Indian studies courses on campus, and serve as a center of communication and information for Indians. This more expansive conception and recommendation for Native American program design and development thus emphasized more autonomy relative to EOP for Indians and therefore moved beyond the more limited recommendations of other EOP staff

Administrators and faculty recommended that more be done to increase the number of Indian students at Oregon State University, and they also agreed that it should be done on a more systematic basis. Thus one administrator recommended that the University make contact through an effective recruiter. Another administrator, however, emphasized the quality of students by recommending selectivity to the degree that "people who can and want to make it through" were recruited. Of the six faculty responding, all emphasized the need for greater numbers and a more sustained effort through a full-time recruiter. One faculty member emphasized selectivity by noting the need for the University to recruit Indian students from many cultural backgrounds and from throughout the Pacific

Northwest and Alaska. From his viewpoint, too many Indian students were narrowly selected and recruited on the basis of economic status or because they were encouraged by reservation-based programs (e.g., Lummi Acquaculture Program) to attend Oregon State. Thus the University, he stated, had not sufficiently expanded its criteria, recruiting areas, let alone efforts, in considering the selection and recruitment of Indian students. And one other faculty member specifically recommended the need for a separate program which was well-staffed and systematic in achieving the objective of recruiting more Indian students.

Administrators and faculty also recommended more be done to increase the number of Indian staff in EOP. For administrators, this meant a fulltime Indian counselor. This person was seen as having both counseling and recruiting roles by some, and another administrator said Indian staff should "have the attributes of success," those who were professionals rather than graduate students. Eight of the nine faculty interviewed (one not knowing) recommended the hiring of more Indian staff in EOP. To some this meant a full-time Indian counselor, and some mentioned the need for hiring more Indian faculty as well.

When asked if they would recommend any changes in EOP plans and operations regarding Indian students in the

administration of financial aid, work study, placement and followup, administrators and faculty did not see these as pertaining specifically to a Native American program design within EOP. Thus one administrator specifically said these activities could not be the basis for separate programs in EOP, viewing them as functionally related to the whole of EOP. Of the six faculty members commenting on these activities, the reference was also to the whole of EOP or to those specific efforts that could be undertaken for Native Americans within that context. Thus one faculty member indicated that efforts in financial aid, work study, placement and followup were "completely inadequate as in other areas" for Indian students. Another recommended that financial aid and work study monies be substantially increased for all ethnic students in EOP, and that the work study job assignments be related to career goals. A third faculty member felt that Indian students might need more financial aid given the fact that many were older and had families. One faculty member mentioned that Indian students felt that Blacks received a disproportionate share of the financial aid and this might be examined. And another felt there was a need for follow-up relative to the needs of Indian students on campus and when they left.

Administrators and faculty did not recommend inclusion

of Indian studies courses in a Native American program design within EOP. Administrators saw curriculum development within EOP as meaning more effective transitional courses for Indians and other disadvantaged students. While faculty did not recommend Indian studies courses within a Native American program design within EOP when asked about changes in EOP plans and operations in the area of curriculum for Indian students, six did reiterate the need for more Indian studies courses in the regular curriculum. One faculty member noted the need for more courses related to Indian resource development as well as courses in Indian history and culture in the regular curriculum. And another emphasized the need for EOP to aggressively pursue ethnic studies development in the regular curriculum.

When asked if they wanted to see any changes in such areas as tutoring and counseling regarding Indian students in EOP plans and operations, administrators favored a Native American counselor. But one important administrator said this person should be a source of identity and counseling should not be solely by ethnic background. Another administrator saw the need for greater use of the institution's Counseling Center by all EOP students, including Indians. One administrator specifically recommended less counseling time on how to pass exams and where

to go in the University to get assistance in courses. His opinion was that counseling should be more "psychological and deal with motivation, racial attitudes, and different life-styles." Five faculty specifically recommended the need for a full-time Indian counselor. Some of these emphasized doing a better job of counseling and tutoring by all of EOP, including the Native American program section. One stated the need to gather more data on Indian students and acting upon it. Three other faculty had no recommendations, while a fourth saw the need for moving Indian and other EOP students into the regular counseling program as quickly as possible.

Generally, there was complementarity in the recommendations of Indian students, EOP staff, administrators, and faculty on Native American program design and development in terms of recruiting more Indian students; the need for more Indian staff in EOP to counsel and recruit; the fact that there were no specific recommendations for lodging Indian studies courses within a Native American program in the EOP or that such a Native American program have its own transitional courses; and the fact that none of the categories of informants saw financial aid, work study, placement and followup activities specifically in terms of a Native American program design but rather within the general area of EOP operations. Thus in general

the complementarity tended toward a Native American program design and its further development that would be a recruiting and counseling vehicle within EOP, staffed by one or several full-time Indians.

Recommendations, of course, varied in their degree of emphasis within these broad areas of agreement. But the emphasis was decidedly toward a recommended Native American program design and development that was within EOP, not separate, primarily oriented toward counseling and recruiting, and which assured a person who was a full-time Indian staff person and representative within EOP that Indian students could identify with. The broader conception of a more autonomous Native American program internally and more intimately related to external Indian cultural systems and events--proposed by some students, staff, and faculty--was not envisioned.

#### Directions in Native American Program Design and Development

Native Americans incorporated into and articulated to the ongoing University system did so through an established interethnic structure of accommodation, the EOP. Its developmental history influenced Native American program design and development. In the main, the EOP represented the culmination of Oregon State University's attempts to

structure for ethnic differences. It became a recruiting and supportive services organization for ethnic students. Although Blacks had a dominant role the first year in EOP, it was not intended that EOP be a Black program per se. Its mission was to be the recruitment and servicing of ethnic students. Ethnic staff would provide identity, but there would not be separate programs. As a universalistic structure, no one ethnic group was to dominate. When there was domination, University attitudes and policies encouraged the development of other ethnic groups within the EOP. Ethnic staff were given power within the EOP structure, not their own autonomous programs. For Blacks this took the form of the directorship and for Chicanos the assistant directorship. Still, the goal of the organization was recruiting, supportive services, and graduation from the University.

Native American program design and development was in line with this: recruitment and supportive services. Lacking for Indians, however, was a full-time staff position. The goal of the University was to make the Native American counselor full-time. Native American leaders wanted this, but they also wanted an associate directorship in EOP. This raised the prospect of separate programming along ethnic lines, and this was resisted within the University. Native American program design and development was therefore

perceived within the developmental history and structural limitations of the EOP. Native American program design would complement the thrust of EOP as it sought to serve all ethnic groups. A University mission towards cultural purposes for Indians in manifest acculturational and enculturational terms would take place within these limits. A Native American program would be oriented towards acculturational functions as a part of the general functions in this area by the EOP. Enculturational functions could be achieved through identity with an Indian counselor and her efforts to promote Indian culture and identity in other institutional spheres and the student union. Ethnic group maintenance functions were secondary to acculturational ones in Native American program design and development.

And yet, there were within the EOP, as among Native Americans, variable and continuing pressures for greater ethnic programming. For Indian leaders it became a maximum program with greater Native American program autonomy and an increased cultural focus. These demands, however, were constrained by the University's attitudes and policies that wished to retain an organization of cultural diversity that was basically universalistic in its structure and ideology.

SECTION IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER X  
CONCLUSIONS

Acculturational functions of the Indian programs at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University involved administrative and service aspects. Administratively, the NAP director at the University of Oregon was expected by Indian students to be their representative, a cultural interpreter, and he was to be primarily chosen by the Indian students. The director of the NAP was to be an advocate for Native Americans in the external systems of the University. NAP members viewed him or her as their leader and not an employee of the University. The director was able to appoint his own staff within the NAP. Leadership in the NAP had an allotted budget as a project and was free to allocate it in the pursuit of program goals. The NAP's director and staff were also responsible for evaluating the program.

At Oregon State University, the administrative aspect of acculturational functions of the Indian program was different in many areas and similar in others. The Indian counselor was not chosen as at the University of Oregon by the Indian group exclusively or by the Indian group and the University. A Native American counselor was

primarily chosen by EOP staff, with student representatives from the various ethnic groups having some input to the selection committee. A Native American counselor was hired as an EOP staff person first, not as the leader of a specific, autonomous Indian program. The Indian counselor was expected to be a general advocate for Indian students, but first this person was a representative of a larger advocacy structure, the EOP. The Indian counselor was expected to be a cultural interpreter of Native Americans to others in the University and a source of ethnic identity for Indian students. This role, however, was within the context of a staff position in EOP, not the leader of an autonomous program. The Indian counselor did not control relationships with other University units for a distinct Indian program; this was a function of the parent structure, the EOP. The Native American counselor could and did communicate with University units relative to Indians in EOP, but these were largely structured through and controlled by the EOP, especially its director. A specific budget for the Native American program and controlled by the Indian counselor did not exist; control over and allocation of resources was exclusively in the EOP parent organization. The Native American counselor did not have a specific role as an evaluator of the Native American Counseling Program; this was the province of EOP

senior staff who would evaluate the role-performance of the Indian counselor as a part of the EOP structure. Thus the Indian counselor at Oregon State University was administratively accountable to the EOP parent organization, not the Native American community or program as at the University of Oregon. The Indian counselor had a general or diffuse leadership role relative to Indian students in the EOP and the Indian community on campus and a specific role within the EOP structure.

Structurally, then, the administrative roles were dissimilar: in the equivalent structure of the OSS at the University of Oregon there was freedom of Indian role-interpretation for the Native American Program as a structural unit and for its members; in the universalistic structure of the EOP at Oregon State University there was limited freedom of Indian role-interpretation for the Native American program as a structural unit and for its members.

In the area of service functions, the NAP at Oregon selected and recruited Indian students for its program. At Oregon State, the Indian counselor was also expected to recruit and select Indian students. This was a primary function of a Native American Counseling Program as a Indian recruiting vehicle. But the Indian counselor was not recruiting Indian students for a specific Native

American program; rather it was recruitment for incorporation into the EOP parent organization. At the University of Oregon, the NAP processed admissions forms and held its own orientation sessions, even in the face of greater OSS efforts in this area in 1972. At Oregon State University, the admissions process was largely handled by the University's Admissions Office and orientation was conducted by the EOP. The Native American counselor helped Indian students, and others, in orientation through her presence and through the Native American Student Union. This was a central function of the EOP, however. Tutoring and skills development were specifically structured for and functions of the EOP, not a part of Native American program design. The Indian counselor could help make arrangements for these for Indian students and other ethnic students as well. The NAP at the University of Oregon had all of its staff engage in counseling and advising, with one staff member in particular doing academic advising. At Oregon State University, the Native American Counseling Program had as its other major function that of counseling and advising, but this function took place within the structured cross-cultural counseling component of the EOP. This EOP counseling component was administered by an EOP counseling coordinator. Financial aids assistance was largely outside the NAP's control at Oregon,

being the function of University's Office of Financial Aid. The NAP did have forms and general information, particularly about Bureau of Indian Affairs financial assistance, that helped its members. The Indian counselor at Oregon State University did not have a role relative to financial aid, nor did the EOP; this, as at Oregon, was the province of a regular University unit. Curriculum development for Native Americans at Oregon was of limited interest to the NAP; it was more oriented towards supportive services. There was not evident a strong push for Indian studies at the University of Oregon. The Indian counselor and Indian students at Oregon State did show strong support for Indian studies development. Some Indian leaders hoped Indian studies might be a part of a broader Native American program design that was articulated to developments in EOP. The EOP supported ethnic studies on campus, but it was not to be a part of EOP. Ethnic studies was academic; the EOP was supportive services. The EOP's "block program" helped all of its students in a number of areas, consisting of courses to help students "bridge" into the regular curriculum. These were EOP courses and were not related to the counseling and recruiting vehicle that existed for Native Americans in EOP.

When it came to enculturational functions--Indian

identity, interaction, and values, the NAP at the University of Oregon was more manifestly structured for this. The Native American Student Union at Oregon was larger, had a close relationship with the NAP, and held numerous social and cultural activities (e.g., an annual pow-wow in the spring) for its members. The NAP looked to the student union for cultural and social supports for its students; they were urged to join and support it. The NAP was viewed as an exercise in self-government, self-education, and culture-building by the Indian community on campus as represented by the Native American Student Union. The NAP office had aspects of a cultural center, a place where students could interact, was staffed by persons with whom the students could identify, and had symbols and operational procedures (e.g., group-based decision-making and anti-bureaucratic attitudes) which reinforced Indian values. The Indian community at Oregon State University was small, weak, and disorganized when compared to the University of Oregon. The organic relationship between the student union and the NAP at Oregon was missing at Oregon State, although this was in process in 1972-1973 given the Indian staff role in EOP. A distinct Indian program, run by Indians, and having office space, was lacking at Oregon State. Interaction among Indian students at Oregon was more frequent and intense given the program and student

union at Oregon; this was less so at Oregon State. A more general sense of American Indian identity was evident at Oregon, despite tribal differences, while the sense of Native American identity was less at Oregon State and the emphasis upon tribal identity stronger. Thus there was a greater cultural focus and Native American identity evident at the University of Oregon in the NAP and the student union than at Oregon State.

The organization of cultural diversity at the University of Oregon was different than at Oregon State University. At Oregon, there originally was a loosely structured and decentralized system of structurally co-equal ethnic program units. The NAP had considerable autonomy as a program given its resource base, ability to largely select its own leaders, perform acculturational and enculturational functions, and select its relationships with University units without always having to go through the OSS. In this equivalent structure of interethnic accommodation, the NAP promoted a group-based mode of incorporation and articulation of Native American students within a specially designed system, the OSS. All of this took place within the generally universalistic structure and ethos that characterized the University as an institution.

At Oregon State University there was a highly centralized system which did not allow for the florescence of

of autonomous ethnic program units. Native American program design and development operated as an identity, counseling, and recruiting vehicle for Indian students. There was not an independent resource base for the program. Acculturational functions were essentially those of EOP, with the Native American program functionally contributing in the counseling and recruiting functions, all of which was structured by the EOP system. Enculturational functions were limited to the Indian counselor being a source of identity and working outside of the EOP to promote Indian culture and identity. The Indian counselor had to work through the EOP structure in order to reach other University units. In this universalistic structure of interethnic accommodation, there was no group-based incorporation and articulation within EOP by a distinct, autonomous Indian program; Indians were admitted as individuals as were other ethnic students and articulated accordingly through the EOP structure to the University system. EOP was essentially the adaptive unit for individual ethnic students, such as Indians. The hiring of ethnic staff promoted the EOP as the advocacy and adaptive unit; subprograms were structurally and functionally oriented towards EOP as the major structural referent. The situation at Oregon State University, then, was one of carefully controlled structuring for ethnic differences and

pluralism. As an organization of cultural diversity, it was essentially and explicitly universalistic in its incorporative modes and structural form.

A comparison of the Native American programs at the University of Oregon and Oregon State University is shown in Figure 7.

An explanation of the differences and similarities between Indian programs at the two universities is next considered by utilizing the previously outlined socio-cultural model. The general acculturation situation, modes of incorporation and structural types, adaptive functions, and resultant conditions of cultural pluralism and biculturalism are examined.

### A Case Comparison of University of Oregon and Oregon State University

#### Acculturation Situation

The acculturation situation for Native Americans and other ethnic groups in the settings of Oregon State University and the University of Oregon were similar in that they involved processes of incorporating and articulating ethnic group members to the university and the process of ethnic group maintenance. Within this context, two key variables--the state of ethnic group organization on a given campus and the attitudes and policies of each

FIGURE 7

A Comparison of the Native American Programs at  
the University of Oregon and Oregon State University

<u>Category</u>	<u>University of Oregon</u>	<u>Oregon State University</u>
Leadership	Native American Program director chosen by program and an advocate for it in external system. Director of OSS seen primarily as an advocate for projects such as NAP and accountable to projects first. NAP largely student-run in para-professional roles. Suspicions of professionalism and bureaucracy.	Indian staff selected by EOP. Primarily accountable to EOP. Indian staff general advocate for Indian students through EOP; parent organization main advocacy unit for ethnic students. Emphasis upon ethnic staff in EOP who were professionals.
Structure	Loosely structured and decentralized system where local units such as NAP had high program autonomy, without strict line-staff relations, and without need to always go through OSS. Basically part of equivalent structure of interethnic accomodation.	Limited structural differentiation in EOP; not a separate program; part of centralized and unified program which allowed little programming on the basis of corporate grouping. Basically part of universalistic structure of inter-ethnic accomodation.

Figure 7 (Continued)

<u>Category</u>	<u>University of Oregon</u>	<u>Oregon State University</u>
Functions	Largely able to obtain services without going through a central unit. Controlled acculturational functions. Enculturational functions high; closely linked to student union. Strong evidence of self-determination modelling and ideology by Indians as group.	Limited acculturational functions in counseling and recruiting through EOP structural components. Acculturational functions essentially in EOP. Enculturational function mainly as source of identity; weak student union. Go through EOP to contact other University units. Self determination modelling & ideology mainly among Indian leaders.
Budgets	Independent resource base; able to spend monies like university department. Limited accountability to OSS.	No independent resource base for Indian program. Resources assigned and allocated by EOP. The EOP closely regulated & accountable to University.
Evaluations	NAP did its own program evaluation. Resisted formalized and systematic evaluation procedures. Supply of information on a periodic, need to know basis, without great detail.	Evaluation a function of EOP. It evaluated the role-performance of all ethnic staff, including Indian. Indian staff accountable to EOP.

respective university -- were central in determining early in the contact period the type of university-sponsored interethnic structure of accommodation that would emerge as well as Native American program design and development relative to it.

State of Ethnic Organization. At the University of Oregon, individual Indian students were being incorporated and articulated to the University system as individuals within a universalistic structure and ethos that has characterized American higher education. Regular units of the University were thus dealing with Native Americans and other ethnic group members as essentially individuals. However, when Native Americans and other ethnic groups on the Oregon campus formed ethnic student unions, they also eventually formed their own voluntary supportive services programs to promote ethnic student adaptation to the college environment. These voluntary program operations at the University of Oregon were due to the efforts of ethnic students and various forms of University support.

Native Americans at the University of Oregon, through the Native American Program, helped in the processes of incorporating and articulating Indian students to the University system; at the same time the program helped in the maintenance of an Indian socio-cultural unit on campus. Native Americans through the NAP recruited

Indian students, articulated them to the University, and provided adaptive functions in acculturational and enculturational terms.

During the period prior to the creation of a more formal structure of interethnic accommodation, the Native American Program was highly autonomous, utilized many University systems, and was able to obtain cultural group resources through assorted private and informal efforts within and outside the University system. At this time, 1968-1970, Native Americans and other voluntary support service programs were not supported with federal funds. There were, however, federal financial aids for individual students and variable resources from University-sponsored development funds to help the voluntary programs. There were not funds for providing on a systematic basis supportive services and the maintenance of full or part-time administrators and structures relative to bootstrap programs by ethnic students such as in the NAP.

The cooperative relationships between the University and the ethnic student unions and their voluntary support service programs in essence created a group-based mode of incorporation and articulation of ethnic students. There existed an informal equivalent mode of incorporation and interethnic structure of accommodation.

Under this system and during this informal period of

contact, the separate ethnic programs were essentially structural co-equals. When Blacks through their student union organized their own program, Native Americans and Chicanos soon followed, demanding equal access and treatment from the University in terms of program development.

Thus no one ethnic group was dominant during this voluntary period when it came to a structure of interethnic accomodation. Each was essentially strong enough to counter the assertions of the others, and the administration of the University treated each ethnic unit as structurally equal. Although a Black man was appointed to be a minority advocate for all ethnic groups, working with the Vice President of Student Services, his role was interpreted by the parties as being broadly representative of all ethnic groups, not for any particular one group. Evidence indicates that this was the result, even though Native American and Chicano leaders and students saw this as one indicator of the University's responsiveness to Black student numbers and group assertiveness.

Nonetheless, despite ethnic group conflicts at the University of Oregon, there was considerable cooperation based upon a complementarity of interests. Thus each ethnic unit had to cooperate in order to obtain federal funds for setting up the formal structure of interethnic accomodation, the OSS. No one ethnic unit dominated in

the establishment of the OSS or in its operation. A consociation of structurally equivalent ethnic units existed informally and was validated in the formal system which became the OSS. Too, the different ethnic units recognized the need for unity in relationships to the administration. Both in the informal period and formal period under OSS, the ethnic project directors often combined forces in order to confront the University (or the director of the OSS), this usually being on the issue of centralization or consolidation, a situation which seemed to undermine the consociation of structurally equivalent ethnic units that existed.

The state of ethnic organization at the University of Oregon was an important factor in shaping the development of ethnic group relations, the structure of inter-ethnic accommodation that emerged and the nature of individual ethnic group support service programs. The same was to be true at Oregon State University, although the result was a different structural configuration.

Before the creation of the EOP at Oregon State University as a structure of ethnic accommodation, Blacks were the only organized ethnic student group on campus. Native Americans and Chicanos did not organize until later. Although the Black Student Union at Oregon State University did provide some voluntary supportive services

for its members, this effort was limited and without visible resource support from the University. Thus the phase of development and contact which found several ethnic student unions with autonomous and voluntary support service programs working out informal relationships with the university over an extended period of time did not obtain at Oregon State University. Instead, ethnic relations at Oregon State University were to be rapidly telescoped in terms of events and structural consequences.

In 1968-1969, the Black Student Union, the only organized ethnic group on campus, expressed its dissatisfaction with University efforts toward ethnic programming for Blacks. The Black Student Union demanded the recruitment of more Black students, staff and supportive services to help Black students adapt to the college environment, curriculum changes, greater financial aid, and more Black faculty on campus. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the University-sponsored three percent program that provided supportive services. Thus the Black Student Union felt that University-sponsored programs for the disadvantaged did not meet Black group needs, and they demanded a Black program effort at the University which gave them a voice in the incorporation and articulation processes related to Black students, with the recognition that this would promote Black group maintenance.

The academic year 1968-1969 found Blacks as a vanguard group in ethnic relations on the nation's campuses. In this climate, and given the singular state of ethnic organization on the Oregon State University campus, the University responded with the appointment of a University committee, the appointment of a Black as director of an Office of Minority Affairs (an advocacy role for ethnic students which was similar to the role described for the University of Oregon) who articulated directly with the president of Oregon State University, and the eventual appointment of a Black man to head a newly combined inter-ethnic structure of accomodation (Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services) which Blacks came to dominate.

Accelerating these events in the winter and spring of 1969 was the walkout by large numbers of Black students over an incident involving a Black athlete. This event simply moved more rapidly a series of University responses that gave primacy to the demands of the only organized ethnic group on campus.

Thus a strong assertion of Black group interests in the absence of other ethnic group organization led to the creation of a formal structure of interethnic accomodation which they were able to shape and control. Not only was ethnic group competition absent but also absent was

the establishment of an informal period of voluntarism in ethnic programming, all key ingredients in the University of Oregon situation. Blacks as a group were rapidly vaulted into the formal phase of ethnic programming. Although the structure was supposedly for all ethnic students, its realities were that it was particularistic, oriented toward the kind of Black program structure that Blacks had as a group been demanding.

Chicanos and Native Americans were to later challenge this structure of domination by Blacks when they became organized, especially Chicanos. Then to some degree there would be ethnic group competition, but it would be within an established system, the history of which was different from that at the University of Oregon given the initial state of ethnic organization. At the same time, the attitudes and policies of Oregon State University were to eventually shift with regard to the structure of inter-ethnic accomodation (Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services and then EOP).

Attitudes and Policies of the Two Universities. Another key variable in the emergence and continuing development of structures of interethnic accomodation and ethnic programming were the attitudes and policies of each university. Administrators at the University of Oregon frequently and consistently pointed to their early

commitment to helping ethnic minority students when it came to obtaining resources, providing services, and developing ethnic programs. There was present at the University of Oregon a strong commitment to the War on Poverty's opportunity strategy with its emphasis upon community action, community participation, advocacy, and decentralization as found in poverty programs. Key administrators concerned with disadvantaged students were influenced considerably by the models and ideology associated with the poverty war. One high level administrator had been associated with the development of the Upward Bound program nationally and was to have considerable influence in fostering university program models inherent in the War on Poverty. Administrators saw in the extant voluntary programs of the ethnic student unions prototypes of community action and community participation relative to the University as an established institution. In the 1970 funding proposal to the federal government, the University pointed to these voluntary supportive service programs as models and examples of University commitment which could be built upon through a more formalized opportunity structure. In the funding proposal it was argued that by combining the voluntary programs within a more formal structure an innovative organizational structure could be created which would further strengthen the partnership

between ethnic students and the University.

There was not only an ideological but also an administrative reason for the attitudes and policies of the University of Oregon. The University in the informal period before the creation of the OSS used and gave the programs some support because they helped in the delivery of services to ethnic students. The University's 1970 proposal candidly admitted that institutional service units were not meeting the needs of ethnic students in helping them adapt to the college environment. There was also an absence of professionals from minority backgrounds compared with those available in later years. In fact, one of the stronger arguments of the 1970 proposal was that through the use of student leadership in delivering services there would be created varying levels of paraprofessionals among the various ethnic groups' members. The career ladder concept of ethnic students receiving paraprofessional experiences through the programs and then graduating with degrees in these or other areas in order to advance themselves and the ethnic group was very much in line with the opportunity strategy of the federal government's War on Poverty. Thus ethnic student leadership in the programs was important in helping the University of Oregon bring supportive services to ethnic students, ranging from recruitment of students to the provision of

ethnic identity and cultural supports, all of which helped promote ethnic student adaptation to the college environment.

A third factor that structured the attitudes and policies of the University of Oregon was federal funding. The University had helped the ethnic groups to obtain resources for their programs in the voluntary and informal phase of ethnic program development. When the University was able to obtain federal funds for these programs, it became more reliant on these resources; this reinforced the University's commitment to its participation and advocacy orientation for disadvantaged student programming, something that was inherent and demanded in federal funding programs at the time. Reliance by the University on federal funding gave the ethnic groups concerned a greater say in decision-making, since federal funding allowed for ethnic group complaints. Thus there was always the threat of a federal investigation, which might in the extreme lead to a cutting off of federal funds. The University was to develop a stake in federal funding when it came to service capacities, administrative staff positions, the charging of overhead, and the like. At the same time such funds were pointed to as evidence of the University's concern and commitment to the poor and disadvantaged. Thus the University had a stake in maintaining the image and

reputation of a liberal institution concerned with providing equal educational opportunity for the disadvantaged and ethnic minorities.

In brief, the University of Oregon's attitudes and policies during the informal period of voluntary supportive service programs was highly receptive to ethnic student participation, group-based adaptation, decentralization, and other elements that gave to the ethnic groups a major voice in the incorporation and articulation of ethnic students through the programs. The University of Oregon accepted and promoted an equivalent mode of incorporation and an equivalent structure of interethnic accommodation during the informal period. From this base, the ethnic groups on campus were to have considerable influence on how the formal structure, the OSS, was designed. At the same time, the University's ideological commitments to disadvantaged student program designs, reliance on ethnic student programs in pursuing a services strategy, and the possibilities of federal funding, were to influence University acceptance of an organizational design that formalized a relationship that existed during the informal period.

It was only when administrative problems developed within the OSS system and when HEW put less emphasis upon community action and participation and more upon administrative

centralization, accountability, and professionalism, that the University of Oregon's attitudes and policies shifted. The ethnic groups did not shift, continuing to put an emphasis upon the ethnic student community control and administrative decentralization ideology and structure which had been obtaining. Federal funding increasingly came to be seen by the ethnic groups as working against their interests. The loss of federal funding by the University of Oregon lessened the bargaining power of the ethnic groups, too. When only on state funds, as in 1972-1973, there was a clearer recognition that these were under the control of the University. Nonetheless, the ethnic groups attempted to argue that the state funds were those of the programs because they had lobbied for them. The ethnic groups thus recognized the relationship between state funding and greater control by the University. The ethnic groups tried to assert in the case of state funds the same type of interest and paramount control that had existed relative to federal funds. But the University could, and did, argue that these were more clearly University obtained and controlled resources. The shift in disadvantaged student program organization and ideology from HEW, the loss of federal funding given the ethnic groups' opposition to greater administrative centralization, the need to centralize further disadvantaged student

programming in order to regain federal funding and correct perceived administrative problems, and the operation of the programs on state monies -- all made it necessary and easier for the administration to undertake organizational changes in the OSS system that represented a shift in University policies and attitudes. Out of this shift by the administration came the fall crisis of 1972 as initiated by leaders and students of the Native American Program at the University of Oregon.

At Oregon State University, too, a crisis was to initiate substantial changes in University ideology and structuring for ethnic differences on campus. Prior to the 1968-1969 crisis between the Black Student Union and the University, the general policies and attitudes of Oregon State University could be characterized as generally indifferent towards the issues of equality of educational opportunity for ethnic student minorities in higher education. In this, Oregon State University was not alone as a higher education institution. It was only with pressures from the Oregon State System of Higher Education on universities and colleges in the system to provide greater equal educational opportunity for the disadvantaged (through its promulgation of the three percent admissions policy) and the responsiveness and concern of faculty at Oregon State University that a shift in University

policies and attitudes occurred. Out of this came the limited three percent program, a special services program which had limited application to the needs and concerns of ethnic students. Given the demands of the Black Student Union in the winter term of 1969, however, the attitudes and policies of the administration at Oregon State University shifted rapidly, particularly as the crisis which ended in a Black student walkout had its impact. After that, University policies and attitudes were generally receptive towards meeting major demands of the Black group on campus.

A new interethnic structure of accommodation was recommended by a special University committee (Committee on Minority Affairs) and the hiring of a Black director to head it. This was accordingly accepted by the administration following action and recommendation by the Faculty Senate.

The newly hired Black director proceeded to recruit mostly Black students for the 1969-1970 academic year. Although other ethnic staff were hired within the Minority Affairs and Special Services Program, key staffing and student numbers recruited were oriented towards Black Americans. The shift in University policies and attitudes from indifference to something more than passive acceptance of ethnic group educational demands, as represented

by Black Americans, resulted in a structure largely controlled and shaped by Blacks, something expected but never fully accepted by the University.

By the end of the 1970 academic year, University policies and attitudes moved in the direction of broadening the ethnic base of the Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services, which became the Educational Opportunities Program that summer. A Chicano was hired as an associate director. He was expected to, and did, recruit more Chicano students and Native American students. Whereas the lack of Chicano and Native American ethnic organization on campus left them without any means of asserting their group interests when the EOP's predecessor organization was created, and whereas the lack of Indians and Chicanos in key staff roles the first year further hindered each group's organizational capacities when it came to student recruitment and representation, this was now to be reversed with the new Chicano assistant director. There was substantial recruiting of Chicano and Indian students, the result of which was increased ethnic organization for each on campus.

The administration's emphasis, however, in 1970-1971 was upon Chicanos in the EOP structure. Native Americans remained the smallest ethnic group in EOP, and they lacked a staff role in the structure.

Different informants within the EOP and the administration stated that the initial process of differential incorporation which saw Black dominance in EOP's predecessor could have been avoided by hiring at the time ethnic staff from each of the two other ethnic groups. This was later to be the strategy of the administration. Administrators in 1972-1973 made it clear that staffing from different ethnic backgrounds prevented the emergence of a "super-dean" or a person who slanted the program towards one group. The indication was that this had happened in the first year of EOP's predecessor organization, but then the administration acted to correct this with the hiring of the Chicano assistant director. As it was, the Chicano assistant director did introduce greater ethnic competition and viewpoints within the EOP, particularly for his own group.

And by the spring of 1972 - when the administration was seeking means by which it could change the nature of EOP leadership, increase student participation, and create a greater developmental focus--Native American program demands were made. The administration made a limited response which eventuated in a Native American staff role in EOP, part-time but with the expectation that it could be full-time. Native Americans in positions of leadership were hoping to accomplish the same group benefits as

Blacks and Chicanos through the limited staff role they had and the promise of a more fully developed Native American Counseling Program with its implications for full-time staff. They came to want an Indian as an associate director in EOP equal to the other two major ethnic groups, and a program that was more oriented toward Native American needs.

The administration's policies and attitudes, however, did not envision the emergence of separate ethnic programs in the EOP. It was to be a structure that gave representation and identity through ethnic staffing. Oregon State University manifested little influence of the community action ideology or modeling of the War on Poverty in the EOP or its predecessor organization. Where administrators at the University of Oregon were committed to community participation, utilizing students as paraprofessionals in bringing services and identity to students in ethnically distinct programs within a decentralized system, there was a different attitude and result at Oregon State.

From the beginning there was close administrative control of the EOP and its predecessor, professionals in key positions, limited ethnic student input through formal procedures or structure within the EOP, and the prevention of separate programs. Further, the University provided the initial developmental funds for the administration of the

EOP predecessor. Then it obtained state funds. The EOP was not therefore on federal funds in administrative terms, the opposite of the OSS at the University of Oregon. This gave Oregon State University a decisive say over the funds which supported the administrative structure that provided supportive services to ethnic students. There was greater University insulation from poverty legislation in the educational field with its emphasis upon community action and community participation, all of which made for problems of administration. Similarly, ethnic communities at Oregon State had little recourse or leverage in turning to the federal government when compared to other university settings, such as Oregon.

Nonetheless, by the spring of 1972 the University was seeking changes in the EOP structure and other disadvantaged student programs. At the same time consideration was being given to how federal funds could be obtained. Similarly, the question of ethnic student community input in the EOP was raised. Dissatisfaction with EOP leadership prompted many of these actions.

Considered but dropped was the concept of a "super dean" who would administer over all disadvantaged student programs. This was seen as one means of introducing greater change in EOP. Configured too was an advisory board composed of various university groups to introduce

more participation and change in EOP. Eventually, graduate students from different ethnic backgrounds were hired to counsel. This increased student participation and identity. From this came the Native American Counseling Program. Certain administrators and faculty indicated that such counseling programs might become a more distinct form of ethnic programming within EOP. This could be combined with an advisory board that controlled EOP. Each ethnic group might have a counseling program with its own leader. The problem, however, was how to bring about these changes in the face of the fact that Blacks had a structural investment in the directorship (held by a Black from the beginning) and Chicanos in the assistant directorship. Structural alternatives within EOP might be viewed as threatening the structural investment of the two major ethnic groups, letting loose the kind of conflict and crisis that University policies had sought to avoid in ethnic relations since 1969. High level administrators at Oregon State University were opposed to any move toward distinct ethnic programming and/or changes in administrative status-roles occupied by members of certain ethnic groups and which might be interpreted as being against that ethnic group's position within EOP.

At the same time, HEW was emphasizing in 1972 and thereafter the need for administrative centralization,

accountability, and professionalism in supportive service programs. The EOP's history and development as an organization complemented the new trends in federal funding. To move towards more separate ethnic programming within the EOP structure would be counter-productive in the quest for federal funds.

Therefore, the attitudes and policies of the University moved toward re-emphasizing the integrated nature of the EOP structure, seeing in ethnic staffing a means of identity and representation for ethnic groups, all the while ensuring that no one group dominated and individuals received supportive services directed towards adaptation and graduation from the University. Limited sub-programs such as the Native American Counseling Program might exist. But its scope was limited, integrated with the services given to all students, and would not be an autonomous ethnic program.

#### Incorporative Modes, Structural Types, and Adaptive Functionality

At the University of Oregon the ethnic groups were given a major role in the incorporation of ethnic students. An equivalent mode of incorporation, structural inclusion on an ethnic group basis, into the University increasingly developed, leading to an interethnic structure of

accomodation of structurally equal ethnic units. The ethnic group, through its supportive service program, became the basic unit of adaptation to the college environment. In the informal and formal period of ethnic relations at Oregon, incorporation for Indian students came through their own ethnically-based program--the Native American Program. This program was a structurally equal ethnic unit within an overall structure of interethnic accomodation.

As an established system, this equivalent mode of incorporation and equivalent structure of interethnic accomodation took the form of the OSS at the University of Oregon. There was to be a partnership between the University and the ethnic communities which would involve a dual advocacy and service system of concerned professionals in the OSS's central office and the project directors and their staff in the local units. Each would be advocates for and providers of services to the disadvantaged. Ethnic communities on campus would be involved through the student unions and programs. Decentralization would be assured given the autonomy of the programs, wherein a director of a program would be largely selected by the ethnic community on campus, control his own staff and budget, not unlike departments in the University. Project directors would also have a voice in the selection of the

director of the OSS, a person who was to be an advocate for the disadvantaged student.

Within the OSS structure the NAP had adaptive functions for its members. Administratively, the NAP's director was viewed as the student's representative and advocate, a person who dealt with external systems to ensure program autonomy, the obtaining of resources, and the provision of services. The service aspect of acculturational functions found the program providing counseling, academic advising, bringing together tutors and promoting skills development, orientation to the University, assistance in financial aid, selection and recruitment of students, and to a degree promoting a curriculum representative of Indian culture and history in the institution. Enculturally, the program operated to develop and maintain links with the Native American Student Union, a major source of social and cultural supports in the program. NAP staff provided identity for Indian students. Orientation and counseling further enforced commitment to the Indian community. The NAP office had the trappings of a cultural center with its symbols of Indianness and atmosphere of sociality. However, the central value to which Indians in the NAP were enculturated was that the NAP was an Indian program which allowed them to have a means by which they could control their own education.

From this central value, internal and external relationships were judged. This shaped Native American leaders and students' perceptions of their program and its relationship to the larger environment of which it was a part.

The equivalent mode of incorporation and the resulting structure of ethnic accommodation at the University of Oregon, therefore, was very compatible with the structure and functions of the NAP. But, when OSS trends moved toward greater centralization, this was viewed as a direct threat to the functions of the NAP as an autonomous program and exercise in self-education within the University environment. Thus the conflicts which developed between the NAP and the University in the fall of 1972.

At Oregon State University, there was not a really formal structure of ethnic accommodation created until Black students protested in 1968-1969. Then the University created the Office of Minority Affairs and Special Services. In essence what the University validated in its process of meeting Black demands was a process of differential incorporation and a resultant structure. In a university setting highly attuned to universalistic values and structures, this was a rather remarkable turnabout. An emphasis was then put upon incorporating within the system more ethnic groups. The hiring of a Chicano, giving him an assistant directorship within

EOP, was indicative of this strategy. He was to recruit more Chicanos and Native Americans. This would broaden the ethnic base of the EOP. The purpose was not to move toward an equivalent mode of incorporation and resultant structural type; it was to move toward a situation wherein no one ethnic group dominated the EOP. It was a move towards a reassertion of universalistic values and resulting structure.

The strategy of "controlled pluralism" primarily centered on Chicanos. But Native American program demands in 1972 found the University responsive to these demands. Indian staff and more Indian students would broaden the ethnic base of EOP, moving further away from the differential incorporation and structure of the past, more towards the universalistic structural image wherein all ethnic groups were included and given a participatory share in the University while attaining the central goal of graduation from the institution.

By 1972 the substantial increases in Black students had stabilized and the greater number of Chicano and Indian students showed the broadening of the ethnic base of EOP. Increasingly the University emphasized that the EOP was a universalistic structure incorporating all ethnic units and providing ethnic identity through the hiring of staff from different ethnic backgrounds.

Within this context, Native American program development took the form of a Native American Counseling Program. The Indian counselor who was hired was expected to recruit more Indian students and help them adapt to the college environment. These acculturational functions, however, were but a part of the larger acculturational functions of the EOP. The Indian counselor was primarily accountable to the EOP, not the Indian community on campus. Native American group advocacy was structured by the EOP, since the Indian counselor was viewed as an EOP staff member first, not the director of an autonomous Indian program. Contacts with University units had to go through EOP. There existed no resource budget under the control of Native Americans; this remained with EOP. And EOP, not Indians, evaluated the workings of the Indian program and Indian counselor.

Enculturational functions in EOP were limited to an Indian staff member serving as a source of identity. EOP, however, encouraged its ethnic staff members to promote culture and identity through courses, ethnic community contacts, and student union activities. Acculturational functions were therefore central within the EOP.

Native Americans were divided on the nature of Native American program design and development in EOP in 1972-1973. Indian students, wanting a broader Indian community

on campus, were supportive of the minimum program that promised more Indian students being recruited and an Indian staff member as a source of identity, representation, and recruiter of Indian students. Native American leaders envisioned a more autonomous program within EOP, greater control over resources, greater freedom to act for Indians within and outside the University, and a greater cultural focus on campus through the program and the student union. Increasingly Indian leaders thought in terms of conflict within the system, means and methods by which their group might attain a perceived status equal to that of other ethnic groups.

#### Attributes of Relationships

Native Americans enter a mainstream institution such as the university in order to obtain individual and group benefits. In such settings they desire to maintain an ethnic unit while receiving educational benefits the university provides.

Native American programs become a means by which Indians as individuals and as a group can be incorporated into and articulated with the university as a whole in order to receive educational benefits; such programs also become a means by which individual and ethnic group identity, interaction, and values can be maintained.

In order to pursue these goals, Native Americans must

obtain cultural group resources for their program. They must enter into a structure of relationships with other ethnic units and the university in order to obtain these cultural resources and promote ethnic group values. In pursuing ethnic group interests, Native American program relationships with other socio-cultural units may have the attributes of consensus, complementarity, and conflict.

At the University of Oregon the Native American Program had complementary relationships with other ethnic groups as they all sought greater resources from the University and the maintenance of an equivalent structure of interethnic accommodation with its features of Indian group-based adaptation and program autonomy. They had complementary relationships with the University when they recruited Indian students, provided them with supportive services, and Indian identity (which was adaptive to the University). Indians benefitted in that they obtained education, had considerable program autonomy, and were able to maintain an ethnic unit on campus through the program.

At the University of Oregon, conflicts with other ethnic groups would come over resource distribution in OSS. For example, competition over the number of financial aid packages that a program would get, this determining

the number of students that a program could select and recruit. Or conflict might come on perceived attempts by one group to obtain or hold on to power within the OSS system. Thus Chicanos and Native Americans at times felt that the central office, headed by a Black American, was favorable towards Blacks and that two of the Black programs in the system seemed favored. These conflicts were minimized by their mutual interest in presenting a united front to the University.

Native American conflict with the University came on the issue of centralization vs. self-determination. To Native Americans, however, the conflict with the University was not a question of resources, but it was a question of values. The central value was program autonomy; the right of Indians as a group to determine their own education free of administrative dictates by the University. Native Americans viewed their program as an exercise in self-education, self-government, and culture-building on campus. Centralization trends in the OSS in the fall of 1972 threatened the Native American Program's autonomy. This central value was asserted in the light of past Indian group experiences with centralized administrative structures.

The self-determination model and ideology were strongly adhered to by the Native American Program at

Oregon. This model--with its emphasis upon Indian control of programs, retention of Native American values and identity, avoidance of administrative centralization, and Indian community involvement--had many points of complementarity with the opportunity strategy and its components that essentially undergird the OSS system. Native Americans entered into the system in order to obtain cultural group resources for their program and the Indian community on campus. They favored explicit understandings on their relationships with the University. Native Americans felt that they had contracted into an interethnic structure of accomodation that was designed to assure cultural pluralism for ethnic groups and programs on the Oregon campus. But the centralization trends of the summer of 1972 and the fall of 1972 were viewed as administrative models which had controlled Indian communities in the past. The changing organization of cultural diversity on campus was viewed as violating the basic principles of the self-determination model; at the same time these trends were viewed in light of historical experiences and administrative models which in the past and that in the present made administered communities rather than self-determining ones for Indian people. Thus assertion by Native Americans of a self-determination model and ideology was a central value in the conflict with the University, and the NAP's

de-articulation of the program represented something more than a threat and strategy in the conflict. It represented an attempt to recapture the voluntary phase of Native American Program development and contact with the University.

Thus the Native American Program's leaders and members resorted to a rigid-means of conflict through their abolition of the program, feeling there was no other alternative. Their conflict with the University was about the nature of the OSS system emerging. Centralization would have strengthened the resource base of all the programs in OSS by helping to obtain renewed federal funding. But as in the spring of 1972 and the fall of 1972, the issue was one of maintaining Indian control over the program's functions, including resources. The issue was one of values to Native Americans. Conflict for Indians was not within the system, but it was against the system that was emerging. Indians therefore challenged the very legitimacy of the reorganization trends in OSS.

Native American students at Oregon State University did not question the legitimacy of the EOP structure as long as they could see a full-time Indian counselor and more Indian students. This complemented their concerns about the lack of an adequately maintained Indian group on campus. Native American program design and development

within EOP was instrumental towards this. This relationship of Indian students to the University and other ethnic groups was also complementary. A minimum Native American program in EOP did not threaten other ethnic group's structural advantages in EOP; a minimum Native American program complemented University goals of broadening the ethnic base of EOP and providing for Indian student representation and identity within the EOP through the means of Native American Counseling Program.

Native American leaders, and some students, wanted greater Indian-controlled resources in EOP, a Native American as a co-director, and a more autonomous and distinct Native American program. These goals were in conflict with the University's attitudes and policies, which sought to avoid autonomous ethnic programming with its own leadership and resources. EOP was viewed as an integrated program with central control over resources, staffed by members of different ethnic groups who provided identity and services not only to members of their own group but all students. Ethnic programming in EOP would increase conflict between ethnic groups, between ethnic groups and the University, and in the end educational endeavors would be diluted in the quest for ethnic program and group maintenance.

Native American leaders' demands for a more expanded and autonomous program raised the specter of greater group competition over resources. But Indian leaders felt that the structural realities of the EOP were such that other ethnic groups were receiving greater resource benefits than Indians as a group. Indian leaders saw the necessity for finding means by which they could increase their cultural group resources in EOP, since group competition was a reality in EOP. Indian leaders thus recognized the conflict potentials in their maximum program design when it came to other ethnic groups.

Native American leaders and students at Oregon State University basically sought greater resources first. Their means of conflict were variable and within the system. Their demand was for greater resource parity in EOP. But at the same time there was a demand for greater program autonomy by Indian leaders; these leaders did demonstrate elements of an Indian self-determination model and ideology. There was not, however, among Indian students or leaders at Oregon State University the central value placed upon self-determination and program autonomy that Native Americans at the University of Oregon showed. While program autonomy was important, conflict for Indian students and leaders at Oregon State was oriented more towards resources.

Cultural Pluralism and Biculturalism

In the structuring for ethnic differences on campus, the University of Oregon clearly established more than Oregon State University a culturally plural system that allowed for Indian acculturation while maintaining an Indian ethnic group. The Native American Program at the University of Oregon was structured and was part of a system that allowed for ethnic-group-based incorporation and articulation. In this situation there was a maximization of ethnic group autonomy while receiving the benefits that a higher education institution has to offer. The interplay between acculturational and enculturational functions, given the system that obtained at Oregon, allowed for individuals learning the ways of two cultural systems and the means by which the Indian group could participate as a structurally equal ethnic unit with other ethnic groups. In the process, an equivalent mode of incorporation and equivalent structure of interethnic accommodation took hold.

At Oregon State University, the University embarked upon an essentially differential mode of incorporation and structuring to the benefit of Black Americans and the detriment of other ethnic groups. This, however, was reversed by the policy of "controlled pluralism," which was designed to introduce ethnic competition and loosen the

structure of domination that had been obtaining. This strategy essentially worked from the administration's viewpoint because it increased the acceptance of the idea that the EOP was an integrated or universalistic structure serving all ethnic groups. Ethnic programming was held in check; other ethnic groups were increased in numbers, staffing, and identity. Provision of acculturational services became the hallmark of EOP; enculturational functions could be pursued outside the structure. The heavy emphasis upon acculturation in EOP lessened the interplay that existed at Oregon and which maximized cultural pluralism and biculturalism. Fear of conflict, accountability, and ethnic group maintenance at the expense of education prevented the emergence of corporate group programming. Limited programming oriented towards acculturational functions, such as the Native American Counseling Program, were acceptable; autonomous programs were not.

And yet, intergroup conflicts and pressures for more ethnically distinct programs existed in EOP. This was true for Chicanos as well as Native Americans. These efforts for a more equivalent structure of accommodation could not be carried forward in light of the strong administration stance in favor of a universalistic structure. Oregon State University, then, moved through the structural

spectrum of means by which culturally plural systems might be organized.

At the University of Oregon, the drive for centralization moved the former equivalent structure of accommodation towards universalism. The demand that individual project leaders be accountable to OSS, that there be more centralized line-staff relationships, reduced program autonomy, going through OSS to reach University units, strict monitoring of project budgets by OSS, more systematic evaluation--all have in common features that appear in the EOP model. And the closer would appear to be the modelling of the Native American Program at Oregon with that at Oregon State University under these revised designs for the OSS.

At both institutions the influence of external forces, such as HEW, presaged changes in the organization of cultural diversity toward greater administrative control. And yet, in both cases there was some recognition given to the realities of cultural pluralism--its benefits and its liabilities. The differential structuring at each institution reflected its own ideological and administrative assessment of these benefits and liabilities in organizing their culturally plural systems.

## CHAPTER XI

## IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An assessment of Indian education in settings of higher education reveals the need for further conceptualization and action in the provision of an organizational format which facilitates the adaptation of Native Americans to the college environment. Organizational requirements relative to adaptation involve the articulation of Native Americans as a group for the purpose of gaining competence and success in the university system and at the same time promoting Native American ethnic group maintenance for the purposes of building competence in Indian culture through reinforcing Native American interaction, identity, and values. This requires structuring by university systems and the provision of resources which promote educational opportunities for cultural pluralism and biculturalism for Indians as a group and as individuals on campus and in the nation as a whole. There is at present a conceptual and action discrepancy between what exists and what should be relative to organization, ideology, and resources toward achieving these ends in higher education institutions.

This educational need situation for Native Americans determines a specific mission for higher education

institutions. The mission of higher education institutions should be directed toward cultural purposes for Native Americans: manifest (conscious and intended consequences) action in the areas of acculturational and enculturational functionality. This means universities should intend to influence Native Americans as a group and as individuals so that there is the building of competence and success in the university setting and the building of competence in Indian culture through the maintenance of Native American identity, interactions, and values on campus. This should also be extended to an awareness of impacts on Indians in acculturational and enculturational terms off the campus; and that intended effects be planned and judged in light of how the university is influencing Indian communities and Indian culture as a whole. In practical terms, this latter effort would take place within the scope of a university's territorial range of effectiveness, such as a region (e.g., the Pacific Northwest). This means that a university both on and off campus must examine its capacities (internal organization, information on Indians, mechanisms on and off campus for influencing relationships), resources, existing relationships with Indian communities, and the role of other agencies in Indian affairs. Above all, universities should give primacy in their efforts to the Indian students on campus and thus in an arena where the university has the

greatest capacity and influence.

The cultural purposes of a mission toward Native Americans must be the enhancement of opportunities for Indian progress and improvement as a whole and the maintenance of Indian culture and identity. In brief, the university system must be high in terms of the degree to which it is manifestly committed to acculturational and enculturational functionality in actions and ideology on campus in the first instance and toward general Indian culture and communities in the second. Such an on and off-campus set of relationships, viewed in a holistic manner, would promote fruitful interaction between Native Americans and higher education institutions, thereby becoming a total system of relationships furthering cultural pluralism and biculturalism.

A higher education institution's mission toward Native Americans should take account of the historical and cultural relationships between Indians and the dominant culture. In particular, this would apply to administrative-Indian relationships between Native Americans and the national government, especially with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Higher education institutions on and off campus in their mission should understand and work within the self-determination model. This model emphasizes Indian group progress and improvement along with the retention of Native

American identity and culture; it emphasizes the need for Indians to control the programs which affect them and that structural means be available which assures such control, all the while Indians receive group resources which they cannot generate internally. Universities working within the self-determination framework would have to accept and develop a special relationship with Indians on and off campus. In other words, universities committed to Indian self-determination would have to administratively, structurally, and ideologically provide means, resources, and opportunities which result in self-determining Indian communities and organizations rather than administered ones. The self-determination model with its emphasis upon contracting and corresponding accountability between Indian communities and organizations supplying resources could be one viable mechanism through which such a special relationship could be worked out.

The University of Oregon case provides one example of a higher education institution's various attempts to provide for Native American group improvement and group maintenance while allowing for self-determination, even though in the end moving toward greater administrative control. On the other hand, the Oregon State University case showed how tight administrative controls did not allow for the emergence of a self-determining Indian community on campus and

a limited perception of cultural purposes on and off campus in terms of a university mission.

To achieve a university mission oriented toward cultural purposes, certain performance requirements appear necessary. In acculturational terms, the following are required:

1. Access -- University settings must expand substantially their recruitment and selection of Native American students.
2. Resources -- Financial aids to Indian students must be increased in order to bring more students to campus and program resources in terms of administrative costs must be available.
3. Retention -- A broad range and type of supportive services must be present in order to retain Indian students recruited and thereby promote their adaptation to the college environment.
4. Control -- Native Americans must be able to effectively control their own programs, centers, and institutions on and off campus while meeting agreed upon standards of accountability.
5. Staff and Faculty -- Native American students must have available to them professional Indian staff and/or faculty with whom they can identify, look to for articulation of Indian viewpoints, and promote and direct Indian education efforts on campus.
6. Research -- Data on Indian education nationally, regionally, and locally must be available and sought. Data acquisition and dissemination must include Indian students on a particular campus and followup information when they have left. Research on other contemporary problems of Indian communities and/or historical-cultural could be pursued.
7. Inter-institutional Articulation -- Native Americans and others concerned with Indian higher education must be able to interact and exchange views and information to further Native American success and

adaptation in higher education.

8. Proposal Development -- Native American education within a given university setting should utilize not only university resources but be based upon a variety of funding sources, both public and private.
9. Involvement -- Faculty, alumni, and non-Indian students are actively encouraged to become involved and supportive of Indian education on campus. Cultural sensitivity is stressed.

In enculturational terms, the following performance requirements are necessary:

1. Curriculum Development -- Indian students must be able to take a broad range and variety of courses dealing with Indian culture, history, and contemporary problems. At the same time, curriculum and instruction provide for field-based experiences in urban and reservation communities for Indian students.
2. Indian Group Maintenance -- Indian students are able to maintain group identity and unity on campus through group interaction and group self-definition.
3. Cultural Promotion -- Indian students are able to plan, participate in, and conduct cultural events on and off campus.
4. Native American Student Input -- Indian students have a voice in staff and/or faculty selection and evaluation in programs designed to serve them as well as influence on program operations.
5. Resources -- Resources are allocated for the development of Indian culture and identity on and off campus specifically and legitimately without euphemistic justification. This means various activities other than course work per se becomes a legitimate expression of Indian higher education.
6. Staff-Faculty -- Programs related to Native Americans have ethnic personnel who are professionals and dedicated to preservation of Indian culture and identity as well as acculturation.
7. University-Indian Community Contacts -- University

maintains frequent and diverse contacts with different Indian communities from within a framework which relates university education to Indian improvement and progress as well as the building of competence in and promotion of Indian culture and identity. Indian education on campus is related to larger question of Indian culture and identity in a culturally plural society.

There exists an organizational need for an effective coordinative and developmental mechanism in higher education institutions to further a mission of cultural purposes relative to Indian education. The proposed solution strategy herein is one of "Indianization" of structures serving Native Americans.

The proposed solution strategy would take the form of an organizational mechanism termed a Native American Center. This structure in essence becomes an Indian bureaucratic mechanism which articulates and maintains Native Americans as a group on and off-campus.

The Native American Center's key staff roles would constitute a cadre of professionals of Native American descent. There would be four key positions: a director in charge of the overall Center and three associate directors in charge of the major structural components (Recruitment and Supportive Services, Native American Studies, and Community-Cultural Development) of the Center. Such a Native American Center would be included in the regular budget of the institution; it would not solely depend upon "soft money"

for its existence. To further ensure the articulation and support of the Native American Center within a higher education institution, it should be placed in an appropriate organizational unit of the university (e.g., a college of education or college of liberal arts). The Center's autonomy should be worked out within such a framework, with the result being greater possibilities for institutionalization.

The general functions of the Native American Center (NAC) would be as follows:

1. Coordination. To coordinate and articulate the activities of major structural components of the NAC on campus and relative to Indian communities as well as with other agencies and institutions in order to promote a holistic educational and developmental effort for Native Americans on and off-campus.
2. Advocacy. To represent the views of Indian students on campus to different systems and audiences; and at the same time to represent the interests of Indian communities within the purview of the NAC's functions.
3. Development. To plan, develop, and acquire funding for variable forms of Native American educational and development programs.
4. Communication. To communicate variable forms of information to the client community on campus (Indian students) as well as off-campus Indian communities. Similarly, communication to the university community, public, and other agencies and institutions concerned with Native American education.
5. Research. To conduct on and off-campus research through its main structural components relative to Indian education and Indian cultural development.
6. Application. To provide research data, consultants, resources or help in obtaining them in terms of the university setting and Indian communities in order

to promote Indian education and cultural development.

7. Evaluation. To evaluate the successes and failures of component structural units to ensure accountability to funding sources and in order to institute revisions in program planning, design, or implementation.

The NAC would consist of three major structural components: (1) Native American Studies, (2) Native American Student Recruitment and Supportive Services, and (3) Native American Community/Cultural Development. Each will be considered in turn.

A Native American Studies component would be an inter-departmental effort articulated to the NAC. Extant departmental courses and newly created ones dealing with Indians could constitute a core program that offered majors or minors to Indian and non-Indian students as well as general education type-courses. Faculty (Indian and non-Indian) would be based in their respective departments. Together such faculty might constitute themselves in the form of an institute, not unlike similar institutes such as Asian studies. The Native American Studies component would seek to increase the number of Indian faculty in different university departments and units. These persons could then be associated in part with the Native American Studies component or other ones where their expertise might be used. A general emphasis should be placed upon obtaining Native

Americans qualified in the traditional disciplines who can then assume a dual capacity: departmental and related to the Native American Center. But this emphasis should not preclude the participation and/or appointment of Native Americans with special abilities, experiences, and the like. The associate director of this component should be a Native American who holds a departmental status and appointment within a traditional discipline and whose record of experience (service, teaching, research, writing) indicates scholarship as well as abilities in the area of curriculum development.

The Native American Student Recruitment and Supportive Services component of the NAC would be responsible for selecting, recruiting, and retaining Native American students in a given institution. The associate director of this component would be a Native American professional with experience and training in counseling and guidance or related fields. At a minimum, this person should hold a master's degree. This person would be assisted by other Native American professionals where possible; if not, Native American graduate students or those who have undergraduate degrees. Assistance from Indian and non-Indian students in other roles (e.g., tutoring) should also be pursued. Use of the institution's counseling services, studies skill center, and the like would be undertaken as necessary.

However, this component should have staff and resources available to allow for the provision of a full-range of supportive services as needed by Native Americans. This would include such services as counseling, academic advising, tutoring, studies skills, orientation, studies skills, transitional courses, and the like. Recruitment of students would be done by a full-time field person, a Native American with community and educational experiences related to reservation and/or urban Indian communities. Indian students recruited would be incorporated through and articulated by the NAC as a whole to the university system. But the recruitment and supportive services component would be a major point of contact and articulation for Indian students given the areas covered and services offered. Therefore, this unit should be well-staffed by professionals dedicated to Indian student success in the university and the obtaining of the full-range of educational benefits it has to offer. They must also be persons with whom Indian students can identify and who are committed to the maintenance of Indian culture and identity on and off-campus. Indian student participation in this unit must be encouraged in order that they might help further the adaptation of fellow-students. Thus, roles should be provided through work study monies or voluntary service. This component, then, should provide for the greatest possible involvement,

face-to-face interaction, and sense of community possible.

A third component would be Community/Cultural Development. There are a growing number of community/cultural centers, projects, and programs on Indian reservations, in urban communities, and at regional and national levels which are dedicated toward the preservation, interpretation, and recreation of local and general expressions of Indian culture. These assorted activities have included opportunities for expressions of arts and crafts; research and writing of tribal histories and culture; the development of educational materials and curriculum development; emphasis upon community services; and the consideration of future designs for community culture to name but a few (Sprague, et. al. 1972:4-5). A range of community/cultural developers from local Indian communities with projects and centers to more autonomous cultural centers or cultural studies centers have emerged. Resources from federal legislation in the area of Indian education have been a stimulant as well as the desire of Native Americans to preserve their culture and improve their communities.

At the same time, there has been a demand by Native American students in higher education settings for cultural centers where cultural activities might be pursued, materials available, and opportunities for projects in Indian communities might be undertaken.

These trends surround questions of community development, cultural revitalization and preservation, and cultural studies. At the base is the question of education for community/cultural maintenance and improvement. Universities through their educational efforts, then, would appear to have a substantive role to play here. A professionally staffed Community/Cultural Development component in a NAC could provide off campus and on campus a range of services and opportunities in this area. This component could provide variable extension services to Indian communities. The Community/Cultural Development component would be staffed by professionals in community development, cultural development, cultural studies, and education, all of whom could provide consulting services for Native American communities. This assistance would involve such areas as planning, programming, facilities, systems connections, training of personnel, management, and fund acquisition in the development of community/cultural centers or individual projects or programs (Ibid.:8-9). Similarly, this component could undertake research in educational, cultural, and community areas as it applied to Native American communities as well as in higher education settings. Articulation with other university units could bring to bear a variety of university resources and agencies in Indian community/cultural development. Cooperation with the Native American

Studies component, viewed as more strictly an academic venture, could result in the Community/Cultural Development component serving as an applied section for Native American Studies' students in Indian communities; or the development of more courses and field situations where theory and practice were brought together. Moreover, Native American Studies could enrich and be enriched by various cultural studies efforts, such as local tribal histories. And it is possible that a program for training professional developers in community/cultural development could be undertaken.

On campus, the cultural needs of Native Americans could be met through this component. Facilities could be shared with students, contacts with Native American staff in community/cultural development established, opportunities for cultural expression encouraged by students, and availability of materials.

The Native American Center would closely articulate its activities and personnel with the Native American student union on campus, an organization which is central to Native American group maintenance on campus as well as the retention of Indian students in higher education. Similarly, the Center should have an Advisory Board composed of Native American student representatives on campus, Indian community representation, and the university community.

These recommendations flow from a need to recognize the

cultural foundations of education, the necessity to structure for it, the demand of Native Americans for involvement and control over the programs serving them, and Indian communities' needs and desire for the best possible education for Indian group improvement while maintaining Indian identity and culture. In a time of increasing demands for alternative forms of education, Native American demands for a special relationship toward meeting their needs and concomitant structuring to achieve it by universities should be considered.

In conclusion, this review of the Indian higher education situation and the case studies presented herein have some of the following implications:

1. Acculturation. There must be a recognition that Native Americans students' presence in settings of higher education are acculturation situations: contact situations wherein Native Americans seek articulation with a mainstream culture unit (the university) but also seek to create or maintain an ethnic group. They are an ethnic group in the presence of the dominant culture and other ethnic groups.
2. Equivalent Incorporation and Adaptive Functionality. Native American adaptation to the college environment, a cultural setting, and self-determination are maximized (a) by organizing an interethnic structure of accommodation based upon the principle of equivalent or group incorporation rather than on a universalistic or individual basis; and (b) by providing for an organizational mechanism oriented toward acculturational and enculturational functionality, that is Indian controlled, and therefore serves as the basic unit of adaptation. This means a university setting should allow for group-based adaptation, the consequences of which relate the Indian student to the university system and still maintains

Indian identity and culture.

3. Attributes of Relationships. Acceptance of conflict between ethnic groups and the dominant culture (university) as well as the attributes of complementarity and consensus as ethnic groups pursue their interests, resources, and benefits in settings of higher education.
4. Biculturalism and Cultural Pluralism. Recognition that promotion of Native American group articulation and group maintenance through appropriate organization in the university setting can maximize bicultural education for individual Indian students and promote cultural pluralism as a viable structure of intergroup relations on and off-campus for Native Americans as an ethnic group.

The realization of these goals will go far to reduce the interethnic conflicts and suspicions that persist in American education. They will, in part, compensate for the dismal failure of our nation to educate Native Americans in such a manner so as to allow them to make substantial contributions to all citizens' welfare and at the same time retain their pride in being Indian.

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